LIFE AFTER WELFARE ✂ CATHOLIC SCHOOL MIRACLES ✂ TAIWAN TIFF ✂ A DAY IN A HOMESCHOOL

SPECIAL ISSUE

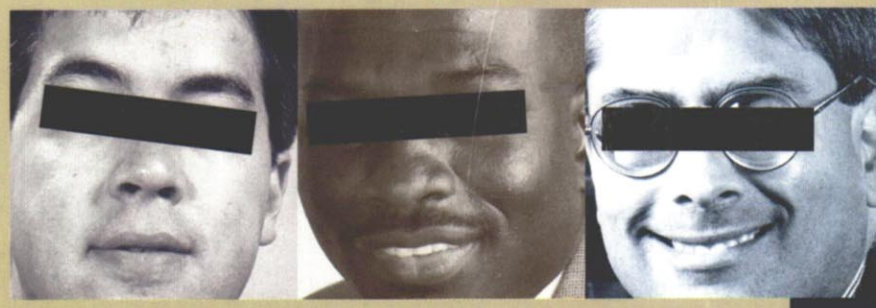
THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

$5.00

A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

Who are America's religious conservatives?

dispatches from
Fred Barnes
James Dobson
Michael Medved
Marvin Olasky
Doug Bandow
Glenn Loury
Robert Fogel
Abraham Foxman
Gertrude Himmelfarb
Daniel Lapin
and 41 of your neighbors



0 73361 64829 7

November/December 1995 Volume 6, Number 6

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We started Total Quality Management six years ago and it's been uphill ever since.

CHASE has discovered that Total Quality Management isn't just good for our customers.

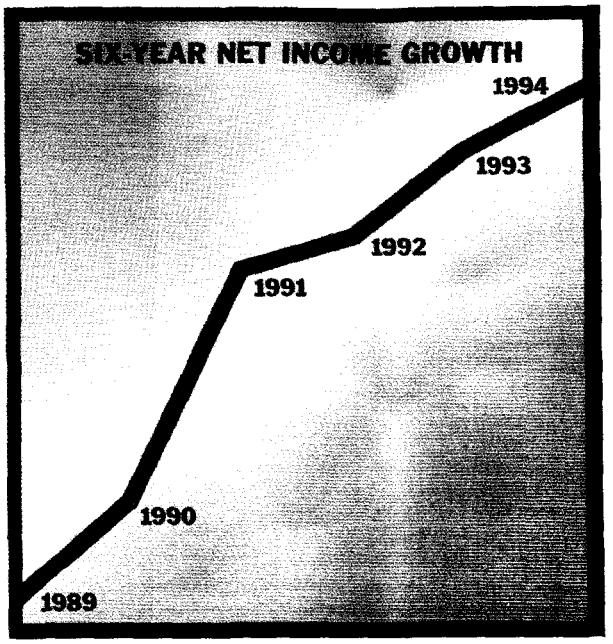
It's money in the bank. In fact, in 1994 alone, our net income was up to over $1.2 billion.

Equally important, quality is a core value in our corporate vision, a vision embraced by 34,000 Chase people located in over 50

Argentina Australia Austria Bahamas Bahrain Belgium Brazil British Virgin Islands Canada Cayman Islands Channel Islands Chile Colombia Malaysia Mexico Netherland Antilles Nigeria Pakistan Panama People's Republic of China Philippines Portugal Puerto Rico Russia Saudi Arabia

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

© 1995 The Chase Manhattan Bank, N.A.



countries, dedicated to providing integrated solutions to our customers around the world.

Today, our commitment to quality makes a difference in each and every transaction and exchange between our people and our customers.

CHASE MANHATTAN.
PROFIT FROM THE EXPERIENCE®

Czech Republic France Germany Greece Hong Kong India Indonesia Ireland Isle of Man Italy Japan Kazakhstan Lebanon Luxembourg Singapore South Korea Spain Switzerland Taiwan Thailand Turkey United Kingdom United States US Virgin Islands Venezuela Vietnam

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

November/December 1995 Vol. 6, No. 6

4 BIRD'S EYE
Do religious conservatives have horns?

7 SIDELIGHTS
Colin Powell on sex...Jimmy Carter's baby book...Baptist standing ovation.

8 SCAN
Taiwan is our kind of China. Charity after welfare. James Q. Wilson on runaway individualism. Growing churches and dying churches. Religion + capitalism 4-ever. Leering at NC–17. Songs and books banned by the ACLU. Catholic school miracles.

18 INDICATORS • Numbers, etc.
Are religious conservatives dangerous? Is irreligion dangerous? Are Americans becoming more or less spiritual? The numbers on religion and politics.

22 TWO VIEWS
Abraham Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League and Rabbi Daniel Lapin debate whether Christian conservatism is a threat to Jews.

PAGE 55

24 RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVES UP CLOSE, I—Personal profiles ranging from movement leaders to the neighbor next door. The first of five parts in this issue.

29 A PROFESSOR'S TRANSFORMATION
Glenn Loury
One man's dramatic journey from spiritual death to new life.

31 THE SYNAGOGUE BY THE SEA
Michael Medved
A true story of Judaism reborn—in a building, in a neighborhood, and in individual Jews.

35 RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVES UP CLOSE, II

39 CHRISTIANITY FOR REAL MEN
William Mattox, Jr.
Is Promise Keepers a male chauvinist plot? Or America's most promising new social movement?

43 MAJOR LEAGUE CHAMPION OF FAMILY VALUES
Dale Buss
Focus on the Family has loyal fans, a star player, and a winning record. And it's not playing games.

48 RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVES UP CLOSE, III

53 FUNDAMENTALLY CONFUSED
Edward Ericson, Jr.
When it comes to religious conservatives, liberals don't have a clue.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

55 FROM BAD TO BETTER
Dale Buss
Press coverage of religion is ridiculously thin and often hostile—but less so than it used to be.

58 THE PARALLEL UNIVERSE
Doug Bandow
Frozen out of mainstream culture, religious people have built their own vast world of books, music, magazines, schools, charities, legal groups, political organizations, and radio and TV networks. Take a quick tour.

62 RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVES IN CLOSET, IV

67 THE CASE FOR A RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AMENDMENT
Michael McConnell
A legal scholar who has argued some of the nation's most important Supreme Court cases on this subject describes the burgeoning movement for religious rights.

70 THE ORTHODOX ALLIANCE
Fred Barnes
America's new politico–cultural split is between people of faith concerned over moral decline and people who say "what moral decline?"—and evangelicals, traditional Catholics, and orthodox Jews are all on the same side.

72 RETURN FROM DECADENCE?
Gertrude Himmelfarb
Once they're discarded, can moral restraints ever be restored in a modern society? Religion could be the key.

74 RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVES IN CLOSET, V

PAGE 39

79 TRANSCRIPT ◇ Words worth repeating
A Nobel-winning economist notes religion's importance. America's political founders do likewise.

82 IN REAL LIFE ◇ The daily work of Americans
◇ *Holly Kinch* details a day in the life of a home school.
◇ *Brother Bob Smith* battles moral crisis, and state discrimination, at a black Catholic high school.

85 FLASHBACK
Dorothy Day didn't want to fight poverty; she wanted to help poor people.

87 BOOK TALK
◇ Mayer Schiller—*Why Should Jews Survive?* by Michael Goldberg
◇ John McClaughry—*The Confidence Game* by Steven Solomon
◇ David Boaz—*Big Babies* by Michael Kinsley
◇ Carol Moore—*The Ashes of Waco* by Dick Reavis
◇ Scott Walter—*Virtually Normal* by Andrew Sullivan

92 AUTHOR, AUTHOR! ◇ by Florence King
Molly Ivins apologizes, pretty much. Florence King sort of accepts.

94 THE DIGEST ◇ Summaries of important research
Selling the World Bank…food regulation for hypochondriacs…government art lessons…Habitat for Humanity works…super-local government…clean out the EPA.

101 OPINION PULSE ◇ The latest survey data
Survey of immigrants…school violence…views of Washington…school prayer.

110 THE MAIL

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

A National Magazine of Politics, Business, and Culture

November/December 1995 Vol. 6, No. 6

Publisher *Christopher DeMuth*

Editor in Chief *Karl Zinsmeister*

Senior Editor *Scott Walter*
Assistant Editors *Christine M. Doane*
Tom Switzer

Associate Editors *Bill Kauffman*
Martin Morse Wooster
Katherine Dalton

Opinion Pulse Editors *Karlyn H. Bowman*
Everett C. Ladd

Art Director *Deanne D. Yetman*
Graphic Designer *Allyson Neily Brown*
Freelance Artist *Kathleen Cole*
Jeanne Berger

Business Manager *Ashley H. Cooper*

Interns *Marjorie Stinchcombe*
Ginger Crouch
Betsy Smith

Chief of Operations *David Gerson*

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
(ISSN 1047-3572), published bimonthly by the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research. Copyright © 1995, the American Enterprise Institute. All rights reserved.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR
"The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 or fax: (202) 862-7178 or e-mail 75272,1226@compuserve.com.

PRODUCTION AND BUSINESS OFFICE
The American Enterprise
1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
(202) 862–5886.

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR IN CHIEF
The American Enterprise
430 South Geneva Street, Ithaca, NY 14850.
(607) 272–0909.

MANUSCRIPTS
The editors welcome mailed inquiries briefly summarizing article ideas. We will not be responsible for returning any unsolicited manuscripts. Send to Senior Editor at Washington D.C. address.

SUBSCRIPTIONS
$28 one year. Overseas: add $30.
Subscription correspondence and address changes: The American Enterprise, P.O. Box 2013, Marion, OH 43305–2013. (800) 596–2319.

Bird's Eye

Karl Zinsmeister

They Don't Have Horns

I suppose my first extended encounter with a representative of what is now labeled "the Religious Right" came in 1979.

In college, I was on a sports team that trained in Tampa every spring break. On one trip home I left the team bus at 1 A.M. in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, to hitchhike to Greensboro to visit my sister. I stood at the cloverleaf for a couple damp, cold hours before an 18-wheeler shimmied to a stop to pick me up. The CB radio and engine roar prevented any sleep. My second ride with a chatty prison guard anxious to show me his homemade knives was also sleepless.

As I stood on a gravel shoulder waiting for my third ride, the sun was rising on a nice Sunday morning, but I was looking ratty. The only sleep I'd had in 24 hours were a few snatches collected in the overhead luggage rack of our charter bus. (Think "napping in a coffin.") I hadn't eaten, shaved, or used personal hygiene products in the recommended daily allotments.

A big old American car pulled over. I hopped in. Driver asked me where I was going. I said Greensboro. I asked where he was going. He said church. I asked, what kind? He said Pentecostal. Could I come? Sure.

The town was called Lizard Lick, North Carolina (honest), and the church was notably short of stained glass. Specifically, it was the west end of a commercial building whose eastern two-thirds was a frozen fish warehouse. The interior furnishings were some tired green carpet, 50 folding chairs, a pulpit, and about 40 non-tired, white, people. Nice people. We arrived during the children's Sunday school, of which I (the sore thumb in a one-room space) became the star attraction. Where was I from? Why was I "wandering"? Did I sleep in ditches?

I found it hard to tell these modest-income, small-town folks that I was in transit from a two-week training camp in Florida back to an Ivy League college where, for most people, holy scripture study and communion on Sunday meant the *Times* with bagels and black coffee. So I was vague, and emphasized my sister in Greensboro.

I enjoyed a fine service, and then my roadside savior offered to drive me to the nearest fast road. By now, he'd concluded I was a genuine hobo. As he pulled over and offered me God's blessing, he reached in his pocket and handed me a ten-dollar bill, saying, "Go get yourself something hot to eat."

Out of my peripheral vision I took in his old Chevrolet, and I thought of the three children he had introduced me to at church, none of whom was likely to attend a fancy college in Connecticut. I didn't want to take his money, which I knew represented several hours of work. But I also could see in his eyes that this was a heartfelt offering, and that he would be hurt if I did not accept, and I was very moved. I quietly said thank you and slipped out of the car.

Sticking out my thumb again, I quickly got my goldmine ride. Up rumbled a big Harley-Davidson with grinning rider in fringed-buckskin. "Where you going?" I asked. "Nowheres. Where you going?" "Greensboro," I said. "Tell you what," he replied, "I'm low on gas and could really use a sandwich. You help me out with that and we'll both go to Greensboro."

Now *I* was grinning. Though it formed in vague, college-kid, secular terms, the gist of my immediate thought was, Here's the Holy Spirit at work. "It so happens," I answered, "that I have ten dollars in my pocket just looking for a worthy home." We had a deal.

I figured a motorcycle vagabond with a pit in his stomach was a very appropriate recipient for my friend's voluntary offering, but I wanted Mr. Buckskin to know we were really eating and motoring on Pentecostal kindness, so I told him the whole story. He hooted. But, you know, it was a very respectful hoot.

Two hours later he dropped me off at my sister's. And we were both feeling much uplifted compared to how we had started that Sunday. Praise the Lord.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Unfortunately, the hoots emanating today from people who are just discovering their more religious neighbors are often not so respectful. Part of this is simple ignorance—finding it hard to believe that Pentecostalists can actually exist. In a recent newspaper column, reporters Steven and Cokie Roberts described sitting next to "a senior official of the Clinton administration" who said "he didn't know a single person who attended church regularly."

Can't say as that admission surprises me. We have lots of evidence that media and political elites in this country are extremely irreligious (see pages 55–57). The rest of America, however, is not. Even readers who live out in the real America may be surprised by some of the data on U.S. spiritual life included in this issue's installment of INDICATORS. For a great many citizens, faith is at the very center of existence.

If, as sociologist Peter Berger likes to say, Indians are the most religious people in the world, and Swedes the most irreligious, America would be best described as a nation of Indians ruled by Swedes. The result is that rank-and-file Americans are regularly stunned, and stung, by their own government's attitude toward the things they hold most dear. The average citizen can hardly believe that the U.S. Postal Service banned "Christmas" and "Hanukkah" from all postal materials last year and decided to cancel the Madonna and Child stamp because it promoted religion. (This within months of releasing stamps honoring drug overdosers Marilyn Monroe and Elvis Presley.) Average Americans can't believe the government made church-run nursing homes remove all religious symbols from their Yellow Pages advertising, and made Western Maryland College remove the crosses from the tops of their nineteenth-century buildings.

Most Americans can't understand what's happening in our public schools. On the one hand, journalist Stephen Bates points out,

> Handicapped students get assignments fashioned to their abilities…students with infants get day care…. Several states excuse conscientious objectors from dissecting animals. Some districts provide schools-within-schools…for chronic troublemakers or gang members. New York City and Los Angeles have special high schools for gay students. Atlanta, Philadelphia, Newark, and other districts have implemented Afrocentric curricula.

Yet when it comes to the special concerns of Christians, Bates notes, educators "turn a cold shoulder."

When the Supreme Court forbids a rabbi from delivering an innocuous non-sectarian blessing at a public high school graduation (as it did three years ago), most Americans consider this official discrimination, a capitulation to the legal blackmail of a bigoted anti-religious minority who insist they must never be exposed to any belief system they do not themselves share.

A few years ago California was considering reformulating the sex education programs in its public schools, and the ACLU sent a letter, backed by the threat of crippling lawsuits, to every California legislator. The letter argued that "teaching that monogamous, heterosexual intercourse within marriage is a traditional American value is an unconstitutional establishment of a religious doctrine in the public schools." The average American sees public policy built on that kind of logic and concludes his society is insane.

RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVES HAVE LAUNCHED A "DEFENSIVE OFFENSIVE," REACTING TO PREVIOUS EFFORTS TO EXCLUDE THEM FROM PUBLIC DEBATE.

Yale Law School professor Stephen Carter sees dangerous irony in ACLU-style anti-religious sentiment. "Just as the nation is beginning to invite people into the public square for the different points of view they have to offer, people whose contribution to the nation's diversity comes from their religious traditions are not valued," he writes. Carter adds that the only religions now officially tolerated are the esoteric and the politically correct. He cites the example of the Colorado school district that, with federal court approval, removed all books on Christianity from classrooms, while keeping books on Native American religions and the occult.

During the 1960s, 1970s, and part of the 1980s, about the only option available to religious people pinched by new anti-religious government measures was what Harvard Law professor Mary Ann Glendon (borrowing a term from the former Iron Curtain countries) called "internal migration"—that is, retreat into purely private sanctuaries. And so was born the vast parallel culture of religious publishers, news channels, and educational establishments that Doug Bandow chronicles on pages 58–61.

It's odd to think of traditional families with radios tuned to Christian music and kids reading homeschool lessons around the kitchen table as counterculturalists. But that's what they became. Feeling left out and indeed stepped on by the established culture, they dropped out and set up their own structures where their most cherished beliefs would not be mocked or forbidden.

But there are a lot more Bible readers in this country than there are other kinds of counterculturalists. And when a counterculture extends to scores of millions of people (again, see INDICATORS), you get something more important than a flourishing rock music scene or lots of Harley sales to aging hippies. You get a politico-cultural movement.

Which is where we are today. Because, eventually, religious Americans got mad enough to fight back—emphasis on *back*. Their opponents claim the current bloom of political activity by religious Americans is an aggressive attempt to force their doctrines down unreceptive gullets. Actually, religious conservatives have launched what Harvard sociologist Nathan Glazer calls a "defensive offensive." *Washington Post* columnist E. J. Dionne likewise describes the movement as "a reaction to previous efforts to exclude traditionally religious people from public debate."

We often hear that "religion has no place in politics," but that is a smokescreen thrown out by people who are suddenly losing most of the cultural battles. Nobody said Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference didn't belong in politics

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

because it was religious. The welfarism and leftist foreign policy promoted for a generation by the National Council of Churches didn't raise any squeals from the Left. If religion doesn't belong in politics, how come the liberal Reform wing of Judaism calls its Washington office, headed by a rabbi, the Religious Action Center? Why did the Methodist church run a lobbying operation for decades from an office located on the one block between the Senate Office Buildings and the U.S. Supreme Court?

The hysteria over political activity by religious people today is rooted not in principle, but in the inconvenient fact that the new groups are conservative, effective, and sometimes insufficiently Brahmin. As former budget official Michael Horowitz, a Jew, has written, "Witnessing the fear and loathing now directed at evangelicals who seek to reverse their historic passivity toward politics, I am reminded of nothing so much as Arthur Schlesinger's description of the horror felt by nineteenth-century New England elites as they watched Western frontiersmen participate in Andrew Jackson's inauguration." Rather than turning up their noses at political involvement by rank-and-file people of faith, defenders of American ideals ought to extend a welcome, says Horowitz. "I believe that evangelicals' actual participation in our public life—not merely their right to do so—represents an essential chapter in America's continuing saga of democratization," he writes.

But of course, no welcome has issued from the liberal establishment. To the contrary, religious conservatives have been stereotyped as "uneducated" (demographically untrue), politically rigid (though they've been instrumental in electing pro-choice politicians like Kay Bailey Hutchison, Paul Coverdell, Christine Whitman, and Mike Huckabee) and "out of the mainstream" (even as their votes amounted to as much as one out of every three cast in 1994, while their sympathizers totaled half the electorate—see INDICATORS).

Perhaps the most inaccurate claim of all is that religiously motivated people are extremists. These are some of the most blandly cautious people in America! Their critics overlook "the discipline against fanaticism in religion itself" (to use the late Christopher Lasch's words). The Judeo-Christian ethic teaches that every person must first look inside himself for flaws and faults to correct, and that fellow human beings should be approached with humility and compassion.

Social observer Michael Barone made this very point about religious Americans in a recent *U.S. News and World Report:* "Religion teaches them that they have moral obligations to others…family, community, nation…. The alternative to a religious right is a secular right that may not recognize these obligations…. The convictions of the religious right provide offsetting strength to the characteristic weakness of the political right, which is personal indifference."

John Adams, the second U.S. president, likewise noted that for any nation-state, "One great advantage of the Christian religion" is that it teaches citizens the Golden Rule "from early infancy."

Yet, somehow, the desirability of religious belief has been lost on the modern mind. And so Americans who try to live their faith are feared and mocked. The Promise Keepers movement, which we cover beginning on page 39, is but one example.

Here we are in a society undergoing a cataclysmic breakdown in male responsibility—where 4 out of every 10 children live apart from their father, where record numbers of women are cheated on, abandoned, neglected, and abused—and a mass movement suddenly springs up that makes stiff demands on male responsibility, while offering a support system for meeting these high goals. It inspires hundreds of thousands of men of all backgrounds to put aside selfishness, violence, lust, and racial enmities, and rededicate themselves to their wives, their children, and their communities.

How do American liberals react? With a paranoid whine that this threatens to "put women up on a pedestal." We should be so lucky, in an era where teenage boys circulate scorecards of the numbers of girls they've "taken." This is grave misjudgment (leaving one tempted to say the Left deserves the social chaos its corroded values have brought), and it springs directly from kneejerk hostility to all things religious.

There is no group more unfairly caricatured today than religious conservatives. They are the Amos 'n Andy of the 1990s. Professor Paul J. Weber compares liberal animosity for the "religious right" to earlier fears of "Catholic power," or panic about a "Jewish conspiracy."

Meanwhile it is clearer every day that religious Americans are neither monolithic nor dangerous. As a front-page *New York Times* story recently conceded, "The Christian right...is a far more diverse group in terms of geography, politics, and even religious doctrine than is generally suggested…the latest *New York Times*/CBS News poll shows."

With this in mind, *The American Enterprise* recently spent months producing the personal profiles that are arrayed in five bunches in our feature section. Concerned that believers are too often presented as shadowy composites rather than flesh-and-blood human beings with their own voices, we decided to let a cross section of religious traditionalists speak for themselves. The result is a kind of focus group in print.

Our subjects practice many religions, come from all parts of the country, and range widely in age, income, and occupation. They disagree on some important points. But one clear impression emerges from visiting with these folks: They don't have horns. To the contrary, most fall directly into the category of "solid citizen." Don't start reading these profiles looking for gems. Think "bedrock" instead.

These life stories may put you in mind of Amherst law professor Hadley Arkes's conclusion that "the people who have been strident, intolerant, and brittle" are not the religious conservatives, but rather those who "cannot seem to summon even a modicum of sympathy for their concerns." Martin Peretz, publisher of *The New Republic* and a Jew, summed up the situation crisply in a 1994 essay. "Perhaps the most fortunate feature of American Christianity—in all its theological diversity—is that it has been remarkably tolerant of real diversity," he writes, "even when it has been tested by all kinds of alien ideas and behaviors. If, in our time, this defining tolerance has shown some signs of fraying, it is because a similar tolerance is increasingly denied to Christians at whose initiative we were all first welcomed."

To that there is only one thing to add: Amen.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sidelights

Enoch Walker, a former crack addict, told a Senate welfare reform hearing that he sank so low his own dog left him. Six government-funded programs failed to help him before he stumbled into the Gospel Mission of Washington, D.C., and broke his 23-year habit. · · · A recent fundraiser for the Coalition for Pagan Religious Rights had as its media consultant "a shaman who worked on health care reform," the *Washington Post* reports. ❧ Levi Strauss put up bus-shelter ads in New York and San Francisco that included actual pants, designed to be stolen from them. ❧ A Cleveland judge who advocates legalizing drugs was arrested for selling cocaine. · · · At a recent Grateful Dead concert, musician **Bob Weir** shouted, "Can I hear everybody say, 'F*** the Christian right'?" · · · "I think [angels] are bitter, jealous, vindictive creatures out to do us harm," says **Eric Stoltz**, who stars in *The Prophecy,* a movie where the Angel **Gabriel** aspires to become the next **Lucifer**. ❧ When **Phyllis Schlafly** asked her Eagle Forum's national membership which issues they most wanted to press, members ranked cutting the size of government first, abortion second, and education third. · · · "Our lack of self-government is the single biggest reason we've seen the growth of government," says aspiring politician **Jeb Bush**. · · · "I offer 15 cheers for abstinence," says *Time* essayist **Lance Morrow**, who calls for "a culture of abstinence: what philosophy would call, 'enlightened abstinence, rightly understood.' " · · · Speaking at the pro-abstinence Best Friends Foundation, **Colin Powell** said, "Drugs are wrong. Premarital sex…is wrong." · · · **Richard Holloway**, Anglican bishop of Edinburgh, is urging his church not to condemn adultery: "For the human race to survive we must go out and sow our seeds," he said. ❧ The Campaign for Human Development, the Catholic bishops' poverty program, celebrated its 25th anniversary this summer with a meeting that featured **Cornel West**, who urges linking "progressive Marxism" to "prophetic Christianity," as well as several abortion-rights activists. ❧ The hottest magazine for bisexuals? *Anything That Moves,* according to a *Newsweek* cover story. · · · The same story profiled "**Steph**" **Getman** and his companion, **Linda Kamenetsky**. Both are bisexual cross-dressing divorcés, "committed to each other" but "open to incorporating a third person." ❧ **Jimmy Carter** and daughter **Amy** have written and illustrated a new book, *The Little Baby Snoogle-Fleejer.* ❧ Nobel economist **Robert Samuelson** recently eulogized AEI scholar **Gottfried Haberler**, saying Haberler should have won a Nobel prize for his work on international trade theory.

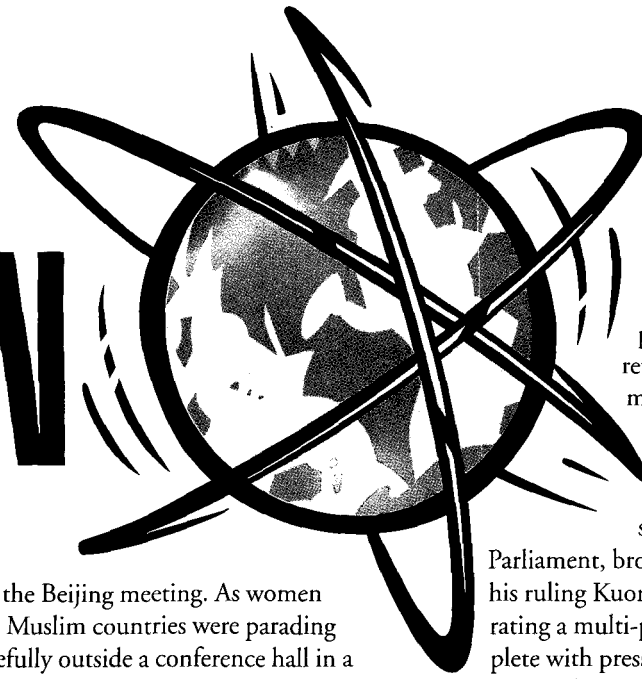
Topic on a recent **Rolanda** talk show: "I want to kill my mom." ❧ She's still pro-choice, but prominent feminist **Naomi Wolf** says having a baby led to second thoughts. She now rejects the idea that arguments over abortion should eschew "images of violent fetal death": "How can we charge that it is vile and repulsive for pro-lifers to brandish vile and repulsive images if the images are real? To insist that the truth is in bad taste is the height of hypocrisy." ❧ In another sign of racial reconciliation within conservative religious groups, the Southern Baptist Convention voted this summer to apologize to blacks for condoning racism for much of its history. · · · South African black **Ernest Lehula** drove all night to see Pope **John Paul II** in Johannesburg: "I have never seen something like this before—whites and blacks all mingled together for an event. Maybe this is the beginning of something better, something less violent." · · · **Larstella Parker**, a black former welfare mother, received louder applause at the Christian Coalition convention than **Newt Gingrich**; 15 other African Americans also addressed the group. · · · The **Clinton** White House refuses to enforce affirmation action laws on Nation of Islam-affiliated firms accused of discriminating against non-members and non-blacks in public housing contracts. · · · One black Washington, D.C. man said **Louis Farrakhan** could have proposed something more valuable than a million men marching to Washington: marching "a million men into our troubled schools, say, four hours a week to mentor, counsel, and fight drugs and violence." ❧ "The hottest back-to-school item this year may be the uniform," says the *Wall Street Journal.* So many public schools are adopting traditional uniforms that retail giants like Wal-Mart now aggressively market them. · · · The American Jewish Congress attacked the Christian Coalition's Contract with the American Family, saying the "only justification" for abolishing the Education Department is that "it does not lend itself to capture by the minions of the religious right as easily as local school boards do." · · · Alabama Gov. **Fob James** is returning $1.4 million the state received from the Department of Education because it would bring unprecedented "federal intrusion" into state and local education.

National surveys of Catholic priests under 35 reveal they have become dramatically more traditional in their views over the last 25 years. · · · **Kimberly Watson**, age 13, reacts to the Pope's visit: "It was so cool. It was so exciting. I expected him to be a lot more boring." ❧ Hot sauce-maker Flamingo Flats' best-seller is Religious Experience, available in three strengths: Original, Hot, and Wrath of God.

—*SW*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCAN



THE ORTHODOX ALLIANCE GOES GLOBAL

On page 70 of this issue, Fred Barnes writes about the surprising "orthodox alliance" that has grown up in the United States. Evangelical Protestants, serious Catholics, Mormons, and orthodox Jews who a generation ago would have been quite suspicious and perhaps even hostile toward each other are now collaborating, because the things they share—belief in a transcendent God and a morally ordered universe—are more important than the denominational differences that separate them.

This isn't some feel-good ecumenism, but a muscular and calculated response to the worrying moral decay evident throughout the modern world. To put it crudely, folks who once feared having a next-door neighbor or in-law who read a different Bible are now worried about neighbors and fiancés who don't have any Bible at all, who worship instead at the altar of personal liberation. Anyone whose creed teaches the moral absolutes of the Ten Commandments is now enthusiastically counted as an ally.

One remarkable outcome of the recent U.N. Conferences on Women and on Population, held in Beijing and Cairo respectively, was to demonstrate that the "orthodox alliance" now exists internationally as well as within our own country. Whenever the two-parent family, heterosexuality, and other time-tested institutions must be defended at international meetings these days, the main support for traditional Judeo-Christian positions comes not from the modern nations of Judeo-Christian heritage but from the Islamic delegations.

A Vatican negotiator at both U.N. conferences recently described to one of your editors a pivotal event connected with the Beijing meeting. As women from Muslim countries were parading peacefully outside a conference hall in a pro-life demonstration, a group of Western lesbian feminists verbally attacked and harassed them, and began kissing in front of them. Delegates from Islamic nations across the globe were enraged and this helped swing their voting against the moral-relativist language that radicals had injected into the platform for action of the Beijing conference.

It's a shame it took a surge by forces of cultural decadence to create alliances among disparate traditionalist creeds and cultures. But it's heartening to see people who once saw each other as enemies now finding common ground in efforts to restore some wholesomeness and sanity to modern civilization.

THE WAR ON TAIWAN

One of your editors recently met Taiwanese President Lee Teng-hui in Taipei. He is, by any measure, an impressive person.

For one thing, President Lee is a first-rate thinker. His 1968 Cornell Ph.D. dissertation on rural development won the Agricultural Economics Association's prize as the best of its kind in the United States that year. Lee went on to become one of the chief architects of Taiwan's radically distinctive and successful land reform program, which initiated the nation's rapid economic rise. Unlike most Third World land reforms, Taiwan's was built on respect for private property rights. Plots were bought from large holders—not confiscated—and then resold to peasants at low interest rates.

As president of the Republic of China on Taiwan since 1988, Lee has presided over another revolutionary transformation: the nation's rapid transition to democracy. He amended the constitution, reorganized Parliament, broke the monopoly of his ruling Kuomintang by inaugurating a multi-party system complete with press and speech freedoms, and attacked corruption. The process will climax in 1996 with the first public election of a president in the entire 5,000-year history of the Chinese people.

Recently, Lee and others have been making noises about claiming a rightful place for their country in the international community. Since Taiwan was kicked out of the U.N. in 1971 in favor of a seat for the communist People's Republic of China (PRC), Taiwan has been a kind of international step-child, lacking formal recognition or a voice in international affairs. Lee and his Kuomintang party are now pushing for a new U.N. seat for Taiwan. Other parties have called for a full declaration of Taiwanese independence.

All of this activity kicked off by Lee's renovation of Taiwanese politics has greatly annoyed rulers of the mainland PRC, who view Taiwan as a renegade province. Things came to a boil when Lee made a high-profile though unofficial visit to his alma mater Cornell in June. Since then, the PRC autocrats have been lobbing missiles around the East China Sea, harshly criticizing Lee, and pulling all strings (including pressure on Taiwanese businessmen who now have large investments at stake on the mainland) to try to defeat Lee in his election bid.

Meanwhile, the PRC continues to run a large prison labor system, and to persecute and kill religious and political dissenters. Its oppressive one-child-only mandatory birth control policy is now being enforced at near-peak pressure. All knowledgeable observers agree that the policy produces millions of forced steril-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

izations and IUD insertions, millions more involuntary abortions, and millions of infanticides, especially of female babies.

The Clinton administration's China policy could hardly be more incoherent—blustery and empty one day, tough the next, pusillanimous or unprincipled the third. The Chinese started stiffing American businesses in response, and suddenly the president agreed to an official visit with Chinese President Jiang Zemin in New York on October 24.

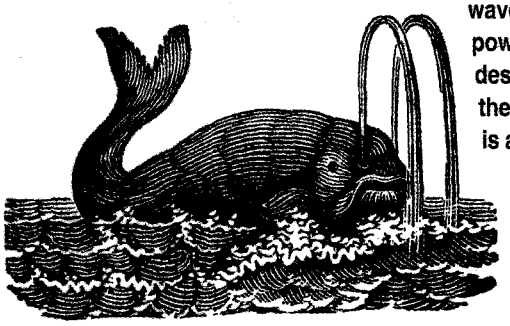
But however much we Americans covet Chinese commerce, they need ours far more. The PRC currently enjoys an annual trade surplus with the United States of around $25 billion. Let us see if they'll throw that away in an economic cold war. (Meanwhile, Taiwan-U.S. trade totals a very much worth defending $45 billion a year.)

The United States understandably wants good relations with mainland China. But in September the Taiwanese were openly wondering in their newspapers whether they were going to be attacked militarily by a mainland government piqued that its neighbor's president would dare visit the United States and ask for a place in the sun for his people. China's bullying gerontocracy needs to be told by our president that war on Taiwan isn't even an option.

WHALE-SONG IN THE RAINFOREST

WEDO, the Women's Environment and Development Organization, was an influential group at the U.N. Conference on Women staged outside Beijing in September. Which is worrying, because their main pre-conference document, titled "A Women's Creed," is full of gag lines—and we don't mean the kind written by George Burns. An excerpt, courtesy of Elizabeth Lurie of the Independent Women's Forum:

We have survived femicide. We have rebelled—and left clues....We are the girlchild in Zambia, the grandmother in Burma.... We are whale-song and rainforest; the depth-wave rising huge to shatter glass power on the shore; the lost and despised who, weeping, stagger into the light.... The exercise of imagining is an act of creation. The act of creation is an exercise of will. *All this is political. And possible.* Bread. A clean sky. Active peace.... *Believe it. We are the women who will transform the world.*



POST-WELFARE COMPASSION

While debate rages over the shape welfare reform should take, all parties agree that major changes in American society will have to occur if millions of welfare recipients are to get back on their feet and lead productive lives. As John DiIulio puts it, pulling the knife of seductive welfare payments out of the stabbed person's body is essential, but it isn't always enough; first-aid treatment will also sometimes be necessary. Senator Dan Coats (R-Ind.) and William J. Bennett made this point forcefully in a recent article for the *Wall Street Journal.*

"Republicans eventually must stand for more than shifting the focus of funding from Washington to Sacramento, Bismarck, and Montpelier," they write. "They need to offer a vision of rebuilding broken communities—not through government, but through those private institutions and ideals that nurture lives."

Through the course of this century, Coats and Bennett argue, government has supplanted many of the informal institutions that once ensured that children became responsible adults. Communities were bulldozed and replaced by public housing projects; fathers were superseded by welfare checks. To help the institutions and individuals it suffocated recover, government must devolve power back to those private structures that have traditionally rescued society's unfortunates. "The distribution of power within government is less important than the redistribution of power beyond government."

Sen. Coats has introduced 19 bills designed to increase the power of nonprofits while shrinking the welfare state. Among his proposals:

- Increase the Earned Income Tax Credit for married families but end it for single people and illegal immigrants.
- Give families earning less than $60,000 annually a $5,000 tax credit for an adoption.
- Establish a $500-per-person income-tax credit for donations to poverty-fighting organizations. Offer another $500 annual credit to anyone who provides home care to a needy person, including unmarried pregnant women, homeless people, people with AIDS, or battered women with children.
- Have the Education Department fund demonstration projects for single-sex schools, and mentoring programs that link low-income youth with responsible adults. Fund 100 school-choice ventures.
- Protect doctors who volunteer to treat poor people against malpractice suits.

"Fred, do you want to join a cult?"

From The Wall Street Journal—Permission, Cartoon Features Syndicate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HEALING BODY AND SOUL

This is a tale of two low-budget charitable organizations and their hard choices. The first, HOBO (Helping Our Brothers Out), started in Austin in 1987 to get homeless men clothes and food, plus some Bible study and prayer. The program was small and often crude, but it helped the needy. With numerous volunteers and the support of local churches, it reunited the homeless with their families where possible, and encouraged them to take responsibility for their lives with God's help.

But in 1989 the HOBO board of directors faced a choice: remain a financially challenged, Bible-based organization, or snag big bucks from the feds. As director John Porterfield put it, "We became aware of grants that we could just pick up. We knew there were strings attached, but...the money was there in our hands; the only question was whether we should put it in our pockets." Board members, who cared about both bodies and souls, faced a terrifying choice: supply material help to many, using government funds, or supply spiritual help to a few, and suffer nightmares about those left unserved.

HOBO chose to take the government money and drop their ministry orientation. Soon, HOBO sported legal services, a health clinic, hot showers, even Sharon Stone movies—everything to enable an addict or alcoholic to remain homeless.

The only thing lost was the pressure to change. God was dead, and so was real hope at the new HOBO.

Which brings us to our second organization. An innocent bystander might think that a religious charity that followed the opposite course—no government grants—would be free of state interference. Not so.

This summer, Teen Challenge in San Antonio stuck with its highly effective policy of treating alcoholics and addicts by teaching them about Christ, and in that way filling the holes in their souls. For this, the state's Commission on Alcohol and Drug Abuse tried to close it down. That's not real treatment, the agency asserted. Turn in your license!

Teen Challenge insisted that it was treating the cause, not just the symptoms, and it provided evidence that such an approach is far more effective than those the state prizes. (For example, a Department of Health and Human Services investigator examined 300 anti-addiction programs and found Teen Challenge the best—and the least expensive.) Refusing to give up or make a quiet deal, Teen Challenge staged a public rally at the Alamo that featured testimonies from ex-junkies on how Teen Challenge saved their lives. Several hundred people, mostly black and Hispanic, sang and waved placards with messages like, "Once a Burden, Now a Taxpayer" and "Because of Jesus I am No Longer a Debt to the State of Texas." Citizens deluged Texas Governor George W. Bush with calls and letters; more came in when the *Wall Street Journal* and *World* ran articles explaining the controversy.

Facing an uprising from Christian and conservative voters who had helped elect him, Gov. Bush said, "I support faith-based programs. I believe that a conversion to religion...by its very nature promotes sobriety. There is logic to what Teen Challenge is doing, and I support it strongly."

Bush also agreed to push for new laws and regulations: "Teen Challenge should view itself as a pioneer in how Texas approaches faith-based programs.... Licensing standards have to be different from what they are today."

This battle is far from over. The governmental social services empire is ready to strike at faith-based organizations. The test will come next year, when block grants to states will permit officials to redirect resources from failed government social programs to successful private charities. Historically, compassionate efforts succeed in changing lives when they are challenging, personal, and spiritual—all things that programs like Teen Challenge are, and that government programs are not.

***—Marvin Olasky**, editor of* World, *tells the full story of HOBO in* To Empower People, *forthcoming from AEI Press.*

THE COMMON MAN

Two left-of-center magazines recently spotted a sea change in American politics:

"A kind of class reversal has taken place, whereby the Left appears increasingly elitist—a reservation for intellectuals and Hollywood types—and it is the Right that seems to speak for the common man."

—New York magazine

"As nary a populist can be found on the Left (save Ralph Nader and Jesse Jackson), it is the Christian Right that has best taken up the challenge to fill the growing emptiness in American life, to soothe everyday people's fears and uncertainties."

—The Nation

FREEDOM NEEDS MORALITY

"As democracy has spread, prosperity grown, and freedom expanded, public morality has apparently declined." That, says prominent political scientist James Q. Wilson in his 1995 Edmund James lecture, is now the Western world's chief dilemma.

Moral decay, Wilson notes, is common to almost all Western nations and has its cause in their shared culture of liberal democracy. Enlightenment thinkers believed that once modern man was liberated from "revealed religion, ancient custom, or inherited power," he would govern himself by reason. But that liberation tended, over time, to erode the "moral capital" of citizens. By the twentieth century, "that capital began to exhaust itself."

Hostility to traditional morality has infected not only the growing horde of people receiving higher education, but also the young, and those in weak families. The result: self-indulgence, drug experimentation, skepticism of all authority, "confusion over sexual roles," and single-parent families.

"We all feel the tension between individual assertion and communal obligations," Wilson says. "Our critics abroad in the worlds of Islam and Confucius remind us...that the West has irrevocably cast its lot with a culture that makes it easy, and seemingly natural, for the individual to triumph over the group." They "scorn the choice we have made and wager that in time...their way will be proved superior."

Wilson says such critics may underestimate a free society's capacity to corrects its own errors, and he points to America's triumphs in recent decades in such areas as civil rights and manufacturing. "Costly as its embrace may be, freedom is man's universal hope." But "that hope will be easier to sustain," Wilson concludes, if all of us, "especially the intellectuals, recognize that the exercise of freedom presupposes the maintenance of a natural moral order."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SOCIAL + ECONOMIC CONSERVATIVE

Famous for insisting that the business of America is business, President Calvin Coolidge was both an economic and a social conservative, as his address on the sesquicentennial of the Declaration of Independence shows: "We live in an age of science and of abounding accumulation of material things. These did not create our Declaration. Our Declaration created them. The things of the spirit came first. Unless we cling to that, all our material prosperity, overwhelming though it may appear, will turn to a barren scepter in our grasp. If we are to maintain the great heritage which has been bequeathed to us, we must be like-minded as the fathers who created it. We must not sink into a pagan materialism. We must cultivate a reverence which they had for the things that are holy."

FROM THE DARK AGES

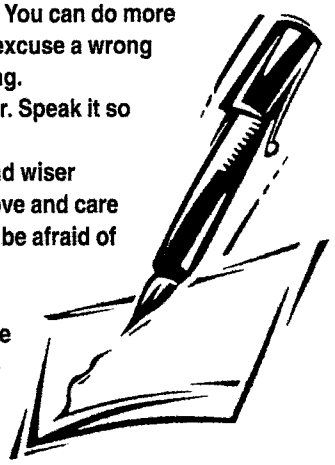
Some penmanship exercises devised at the turn of the century by the National Institution for Moral Instruction, recently unearthed by St. Louis artist Betsy Nimock, and published in the *Washington Times:*

Goodness—Refuse to do a mean act, be it ever so small. You can do more good by being good than in any other way. Never excuse a wrong action by saying someone else does the same thing.

Truthfulness—Speak the truth! Speak it boldly, never fear. Speak it so that all may hear; in the end it will appear.

Self-reliance—I will gladly listen to the advice of older and wiser people. I will reverence the wishes of those who love and care for me, but I will learn to think for myself. I will not be afraid of being laughed at. I will not be afraid of doing right when the crowd does wrong.

Honesty—An honest man is the noblest work of God. The honest penny is better than the stolen dollar. Honesty is that which compels us when we are wrong to acknowledge it.



WANTED: ANTIDOTES TO SELFISHNESS

In all humans, there is a constant struggle between the selfishness designed to preserve the individual, and the social instincts that preserve the species. Of the two, selfishness naturally predominates. As any parent can attest, only years of training can curb this tendency. So when social institutions enter into this internal contest on the side of self-centeredness, chaos must result.

Self-centeredness and its related ills—crime, illegitimacy, child neglect—are exploding in America. This is because the national culture is glorifying individualism beyond healthy limits. Civilization requires the constraint of egoism. When a society decides its individual members should maximize their wealth and pleasure even at the expense of their children, you know danger is around the corner.

Today's epidemic of rapacious crime, the most extreme form of selfishness, indicates that that dangerous future is now for America. A less visible but deeper symptom is the voluntary, self-interested breakup of the family in the United States. Illegitimacy is over 30 percent, divorce rates hover around 50 percent. These trends are supremely harmful to both children and society, and they afflict rich and poor, white and black alike. Parents in the United States also spend less time with their children than a generation ago. The increasing use of day care is a concern, because studies overwhelmingly show day-care children to be more aggressive and antisocial than non-daycare children, and less respectful of authority figures.

Whenever these points are raised, the usual protest is an appeal to individual rights (career choice, sexual freedom, etc.). Rights, of course, are the classic intellectual haven for self-interested conduct. But few children seem to be misled by such explanations. They see that looking out for number one, as demonstrated by the materialism and sexual self-indulgence of their parents, has become the guiding principle of adult society. What some call personal freedom looks to many a child like adult tyranny of the self, whose reign children feel painfully.

How can a society pull itself out of such an unfolding calamity? It is not at all clear that we can. Clearly, government cannot solve a cultural problem of this magnitude. And the liberal answer of spending more state money and minting more rights is a demonstrated, if well-intentioned, failure.

Two things would solve most of our social problems, but neither can be legislated: self-denial and love. These flourish only when a society marshals all its resources—family loyalty, informal social pressure, legislation, and moral suasion—to actively encourage them. History reveals that life is a series of obligations to be fulfilled as honorably as possible, with occasional interludes for moderate self-indulgence. That is not a fun message, but it is essential to a civilization's survival.

In understanding and reinforcing this, religion must surely be an essential ingredient. Religious teaching has a unique ability to inspire self-denial, and to instill the sense of moral obligation that deters bad behavior even after the policeman has left the scene.

Radical individualism has been carried to extremes in modern society. We need antidotes, or we will suffer chaos.

*—**Andrew Peyton Thomas** is an assistant attorney general for Arizona and author of* Crime and the Sacking of America.

MAINLINE ACCOMMODATERS VS. EVANGELICAL RESISTERS

In *The Churching of America 1776–1990,* Roger Finke and Rodney Stark use census data to show that "mainline churches" have always been in decline in the United States. As churches become comfortable with established mores, Finke and Stark suggest, they lose their appeal. Churches that counter the broader culture grow. University of Oklahoma professor Allen Hertzke seconds this, noting that Methodists, for example, grew rapidly when in the evangel-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ical vanguard. "Only when they became accommodationist toward the world" did Methodism begin to decline. In TRANSCRIPT, Robert Fogel likewise notes that in the natural competition among religions, the "enthusiastic" varieties win.

John Green, a leading academic expert on religion and society, makes a related argument in an Ethics and Public Policy Center book entitled *Disciples and Democracy.* He distinguishes mainline Protestants from evangelical Protestants on the grounds that mainliners are willing "to accommodate orthodox Protestant beliefs to the modern world," while evangelical churches "resisted accommodation to the modern world and remained committed to orthodox Protestant beliefs." Green adds that mainline Protestantism has declined in recent decades and now accounts for less than a fifth of the adult population, while evangelical groups have grown and eclipsed the mainliners in influence and size.

Most religious seekers, it seems, are looking for cures for modernism, not apologies.

TO WRECK CAPITALISM, ATTACK RELIGION

In 1960, Madalyn Murray O'Hair filed a lawsuit in the name of her son William that sought to ban Bible-reading from schools. The resulting Supreme Court decision, pressed across the land by ACLU suits, eventually forced the removal of almost all religious practice from public life. Wearing religious jewelry, delivering an invitation for a church basketball game to a playmate, wearing t-shirts with religious themes—these are now infractions not only at public schools but in other official settings as well.

This June, William J. Murray, O'Hair's son named in the original suit, wrote an article for *The World and I* describing his mother's motivation. "Many will ask: Surely those who filed these lawsuits against school prayer originally did not intend such intrusion into religious liberty by the state? Weren't these merely well-intentioned Americans interested only in the concept of state-church separation?" Actually, no.

During the time his mother's suit was in court, Murray explains, "she was the manager of the Communist Party Bookstore in Baltimore. She was also chairman, in Maryland, of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, a pro-Castro organization. Prior to 1960 she had sought citizenship in the Soviet Union."

"I endured perhaps five years of Marxist-Leninist study classes in the basement of my home in Baltimore during my teens," Murray reports. "During this indoctrination, much of it led by my mother, I learned that…religion is the opium of the people. Preachers and rabbis are used by the ruling class to keep the masses in place. To destroy the capitalist system in America the people must be separated from their religious heritage and traditions. All icons of Western civilization must be removed from the school." His mother, Murray summarizes, was a "collectivist bent on the destruction of America."

THE NEW NC-17 TREND

When Hollywood replaced its "X" (adults only) film rating with the more innocuous-sounding NC-17 label, many said it opened the door for still more violent and sexual content in movies. The "X" rating had always been a kiss of death for mainstream films, and most theaters refused even to carry such works, which most newspapers refused to advertise.

Now with the release of the films *Kids* and *Showgirls* in 1995, and other NC-17 films on the horizon, the camel's nose is under the tent. Raunchy films that once would have been consigned to seedy red-light districts are entering family theaters and video rental chains.

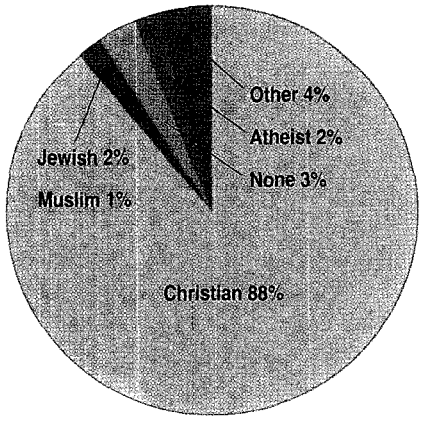
As *Kids* and *Showgirls* show, the NC rating ought to stand for No Conscience. In addition to sexual debauchery, both films contain appalling images of vicious racial violence. In *Kids* two white youths nearly beat a black youth to death and then spit on him. In *Showgirls*, a white rock star and his bodyguards inflict anal gang rape on a kind-hearted black woman.

Kids, released by the Disney subsidiary Miramax, shows scenes of intercourse with teenagers said to be as young as 13. Sex talk is constant, and young girls are sexual prizes to be stolen and then trashed. Unfortunately, *Kids* is setting box office records at "art" theaters. And many teenagers are seeing it, because theater owners rarely enforce ratings, particularly on the West Coast.

In MGM/United Artist's $40 million dud *Showgirls* (starring former teenage role model Elizabeth Berkley from the NBC family show *Saved By The Bell*) offensive elements include mock lesbian sado-masochistic scenes. Director Paul Verhoeven and writer Joe Eszterhas claim their film had to be NC-17 to show the truth about the lives of Las Vegas showgirls. Just a pair of scrupulous documentary scholars, apparently. Meanwhile, their humble ef-

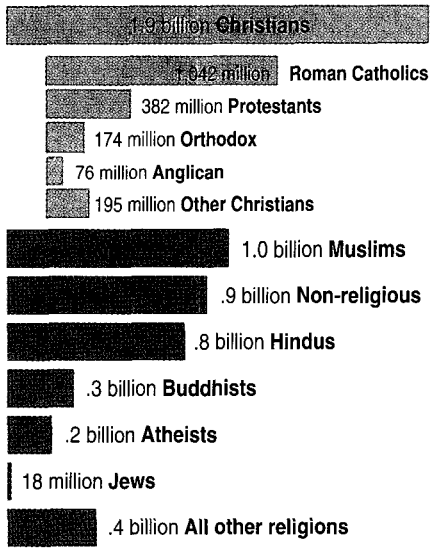
U.S. RELIGION PROFILE

Do you consider yourself to be Christian, Jewish, Muslim, atheist, or of another religous faith?



Source: Barna Research Group, 1992.

WORLD RELIGION PROFILE



Source: 1993 data, *Encyclopedia Britannica Yearbook.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forts were pushed on the public by one of the biggest publicity campaigns ever.

Ironically, the truth *Showgirls*'s makers missed is that Las Vegas is shifting rapidly away from its cheesecake past. "We've had a movement here toward family entertainment," notes *Las Vegas Review Journal* entertainment columnist Michael Paskevich. "Five years ago, 57 percent of our shows had some kind of female nudity, and now it's down to 22 percent."

While the American public craves family-oriented entertainment, certain Hollywood producers and directors prefer to push their own bad ideas and pet films into theaters, even at the expense of commercial success.

In 1996, a third NC-17 film will come to a theater near you. New Line's *Striptease* paid Demi Moore a record $12.5 million to take off her clothes. The test is on: Will Hollywood slide "X" movies into the cultural bloodstream?

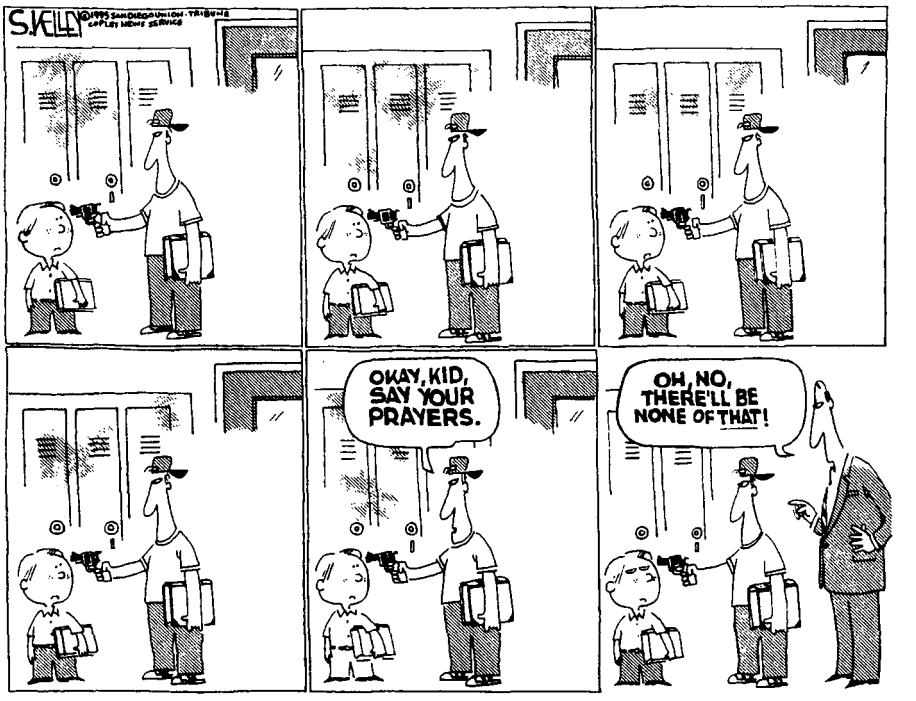
***—Dave Geisler** is a Southern California writer who covers Hollywood.*

THE REST OF THE STORY

The choir of West High School in Salt Lake City had planned to sing two popular songs—"The Lord Bless You and Keep You" and "Friends"—at the school graduation this spring. But the the 10th Circuit Court of Appeals forbade this, because the songs had references to God. On commencement day, a senior named Will Badger stepped to the podium and urged the choir and audience to join him in singing "Friends" anyway. On page 23, Abraham Foxman describes the reaction of the student who brought the original lawsuit that blocked the singing.

The other part of the story is how other students and the audience at the graduation felt, and how school officials reacted. The crowd began singing, and school principal Bill Boston rushed to the microphone to try to silence them. He failed. Meanwhile, a uniformed police officer physically removed Badger and prevented him from receiving his diploma with his fellow students.

At a press conference the next day, school officials were livid. Principal Boston said videotapes of the ceremony would be reviewed and witnesses questioned to discover the identities of those who sang the forbidden song. The president of the school board, Mary Jo Rasmussen, said that disciplinary action was planned against returning students found guilty and that any district employee who joined in the singing would be punished.



S. Kelley © 1995 San Diego Union • Tribune
Copley News Service

Meanwhile, complainant Rachel Bauchman added additional complaints and contempt charges to her lawsuit against the choir director, the school, its principal, the school district, and its administrators. She asked for a permanent ban on performances of religious music by the choir.

In mid-September a federal judge dismissed the case, denying it represented a violation of the Constitution's prohibition on government establishment of religion. All of the named parties required legal defense, however, and will continue to need attorneys through Bauchman's promised appeal. (The Becket Fund for Religious Liberty entered the case on behalf of some of the students.)

Though few cases make their way into the national news, it's estimated that there are approximately 1,000 incidents every year in the United States similar to this one in Salt Lake City. (For more on the subject, including case histories, see Michael McConnell's feature article and the related sidebar on pages 67–69.)

A JEWISH CALL FOR THE BIBLE IN SCHOOL

As a Jewish survivor of six years of enforced school prayer, I am here to testify that it works. Reformers shouldn't merely tolerate it; nor should they stop at endorsing a timid, amoral moment of silence. They should bring the Bible back into the classroom and read it—out loud.

When I attended Teaneck, New Jersey's Longfellow Elementary School from 1945 to 1951, the day began with a student volunteer, or the teacher, reading five verses from the Old Testament after which we all said the Lord's Prayer. The selection suited Christians and the small Jewish contingent; I guess no one worried about atheists or Muslims. I never volunteered, but I loved to listen. Passages from the psalms, especially, still roll around in my mind.

It's not that I was devout. I went to Jewish Sunday school and afterschool Hebrew classes, but neither was a devotion. So it wasn't that school prayer let me practice my religion. It was better than that: The words and cadences of the King James Bible were soothing and inspiring and, though their meaning was a little elusive, they were my favorite part of the school day. It was like walking into a splendid cathedral in a foreign city.

Ah, but we were innocent then. Educators assumed that we shared a common

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

heritage and gladly promoted it. During Brotherhood Week (if it exists, the name has surely been revised), we sang the lyrics: "George Washington liked good roast beef; Chaim Solomon liked fish; but when Uncle Sam served liberty, they both enjoyed the dish."

Our town fathers weren't sociologically advanced enough to worry whether every ethnic group got equal time. With our common moral heritage, they were insensitive to the crippling effect that an infidel might suffer if he had to hear the words: "For thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen." We had no ACLU to protect us.

But we didn't need one. School prayer and such songs are not only good; they are necessary. They elevate young minds and spirits. Nothing better puts man in his place than the words and posture of devotion—and no one needs that more than the children of our age so proud of its reason and freedom.

Here's something schools can't go wrong on: Just read the Psalms and sing the songs, and kids will get it. We shouldn't feel handcuffed by the Supreme Court's misconstruction of the First Amendment, or worries about the Muslims and atheists. The chasm to fear is not between religions but between piety and arrogance. Any religion must welcome a turn toward piety. Any atheist is free to stare or mumble.

*—**Sam Segal** recently retired from Cornell University. An earlier version of this article appeared in the* Wall Street Journal.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOL MIRACLES

For a good example of how effective religious institutions can be at solving social problems, look at America's Catholic schools. Nationwide, 95 percent of all parochial students graduate from high school. Black kids in Catholic schools are actually less likely to drop out than white kids in government schools. Eighty-three percent of Catholic school graduates go on to college—versus just 52 percent of public school grads—where they are also more likely to finish their degree than comparable students from government schools.

Contrary to occasional claims, parochial schools don't get these superior results by skimming off all the good students. Quite the opposite. Catholic schools, which are mostly located in old urban parishes, now educate very large numbers of inner-city and minority students—proportionately more than the public schools. About 60 percent of the students in Rochester, New York's Catholic schools come from families below the poverty line, for instance. Or take Hales Franciscan High School on Chicago's south side. You need only "C" public-school grades and average scores on a basic-skills test to be admitted, yet 90 percent of the school's nearly all-black population goes on to college.

Consider, too, a program run by New York City's Catholic schools called the Student/Sponsor Partnership. It takes eighth graders floundering in New York's government schools and matches them with a sponsor willing to pay their tuition in a Catholic school. These kids are hardly natural academic types. Eighty-two percent come from a single-parent or no-parent home. The majority are on welfare. *None* has an income above the poverty level. Yet after shifting to parochial schools, more than 80 percent end up going to college.

In the early 1980s University of Chicago sociologist James Coleman and several colleagues compared results in more than 1,000 different public and private high schools. After factoring out variations in family and economic backgrounds, they found that Catholic school students earn significantly better scores on achievement tests than comparable public school students.

Poor students and black and Hispanic students are particularly likely to improve themselves in church-run academies. In public systems, the performance gap between black and white students widens during high school; within Catholic schools it actually narrows. Parochial education, built on a combination of no-nonsense teaching and tough love, seems uniquely able to thin the gap separating family-deficient kids from their classmates.

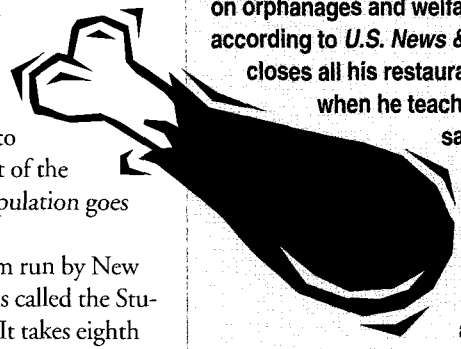
One secret to Catholic education's success: it places serious demands on students. The education establishment often claims that stiff requirements which encourage excellence will simultaneously force out low-performers. Thus everything is dumbed down to avoid "harming" laggards. But Catholic schools enforce high standards while *also* maintaining a much lower dropout rate. Compared to public-school counterparts, parochial students are about one-fourth as likely to drop out of high school. This large gap remains even after statistical adjustments are made for the test scores, grades, disciplinary histories, absences, background characteristics, and religiosity of the children.

A massive nationwide study published by the liberal Brookings Institution in 1990 confirmed Coleman's findings. Even after factoring out differences in background, Brookings found that over the course of a four-year high school career, students in Catholic schools gain more than one full year in academic achievement over similar students in public schools. This led the report's authors to endorse government funding for Catholic and other privately run schools.

The RAND Corporation (another think tank with views that are mostly liberal) published a study a few months later that focused on 13 inner-city high schools in New York City and Washington, D.C. Researchers matched children from poverty-level, single-parent families attending Catholic high schools with counterparts attending neighborhood public high schools. They discovered that 95 percent of

CHICKEN-FREE SABBATHS

In addition to running his 600 Chick-Fil-A restaurants, S. Truett Cathy also spends $800,000 a year running eight foster homes in the Southeast. He advises his good friend House Speaker Newt Gingrich on orphanages and welfare reform and, according to *U.S. News & World Report*, closes all his restaurants on Sundays, when he teaches Bible class, saying, "I can't be teaching kids how to keep the Lord's Day holy while my cash registers are ringing."

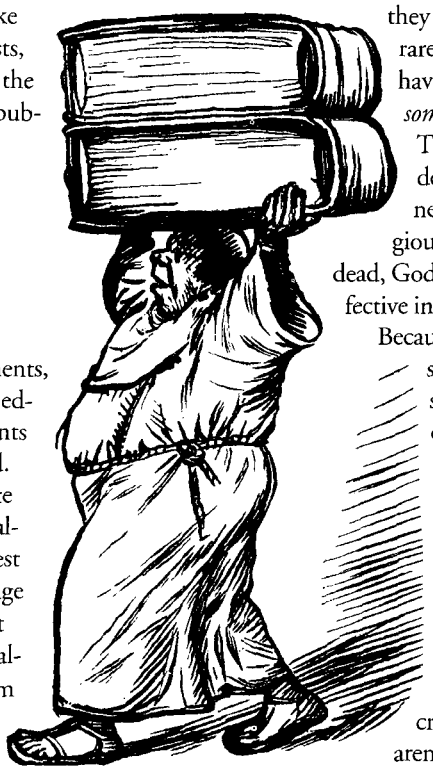


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the parochial kids graduated, compared with just 55 percent of the public school kids. Eighty-five percent of the parochial kids took the SAT test their senior year, compared to only a third of the public school kids, and yet this much broader Catholic school group scored 170 points above the public-school students.

And Catholic schools succeed inexpensively. Economic consultant Robert Genetski has calculated that, nationwide, privately run schools educate their K–12th graders at an average cost of $1,900 per pupil, compared to $4,800 for public schools. Even after adjusting for things like special-ed costs and differences in the way government schools and privately run schools handle things like transportation and book costs, the privately run schools do the job for about half what the public schools spend.

Better results at half the expense. Shouldn't this tell us something?



UNSELFISH CATHOLICS

As the previous item documents, Catholic schools succeed in educating the inner-city students that government schools fail. Yet teachers' unions and state bureaucrats resist efforts to allow parents to choose the best schools for their kids (see page 83). The educrats claim that school-choice plans merely allow the selfish to retreat from society's problems.

The history of Catholic schools, however, is anything but selfish. They were first founded in large numbers earlier this century to reach out with the powerful hand of the nun to raise immigrant families of Sweeneys, Rzepinskis, Gardettos, and Schmidts up from peasantry. Now these families have moved onward and outward to the suburbs, leaving the old parochial schools largely without Catholic kids to educate.

Yet rather than follow their constituents as one might expect, hundreds of these schools have stayed, thanks to the financial support of parishioners in neighborhoods far removed, and now provide an alternative to the child-dooming nightmare of urban public schools. Far from retreating to selfish insularity, urban Catholic schools have chosen to serve the poor, the Protestant, and the minority.

Do Catholic schools succeed because of innovative programs? No, the basic approach hasn't changed dramatically since the Middle Ages. Because paying parents take a more active interest? Not particularly—the schools don't charge much, thanks to diocesan subsidies; if the parents are more involved it's because the schools are communities worthy of involvement. Is the secret to Catholic schools that they can kick out disruptive students? Well, they could, but they rarely do. They don't have to—because *someone is in charge.* The schools' good order is intimately connected to their religious aspect. When not dead, God is enormously effective in righting the world. Because of Him, Catholic schools are not upside down. Each is a community under God, and so the children learn that *they* are not gods. They're not told they are naturally brilliant, needing only "facilitators" to draw out their creative genius. They aren't taught they are naturally good, needing only provocative discussion to "clarify their values." They are approached as kids—children of a species that requires an education of mind and conscience that can only be received from those who are already educated.

As the children are liberated from dumbness by rules of grammar that enable them to communicate, so are they liberated from sin and disorder by rules of behavior that allow them to participate in a community. So also are they freed from the prison of ignorance by proper demands on their attention and effort.

However many fuzzy-thinking teachers and administrators urban Catholic schools may have, they possess a distinct advantage over government schools: they have authority to teach. This authority runs from God to parents to teachers; it doesn't flow from social scientists in federal, state, and local bureaucracies. It makes teachers people to be listened to—adults who have knowledge to impart and Mom's approval to impart it. It makes schools a family-friendly bond linking parents and children, rather than an alien authority coming between them.

Government-school employees are right to worry about what will happen if parents are ever allowed to exercise their God-given right and responsibility to choose how, where, and by whom their children will be educated.

***—Michael S. Joyce**, president of the Bradley Foundation, was a pupil of the ever-patient Sisters of the Incarnate Word and the always-challenging men of the Society of Jesus.*

URBAN RENEWAL

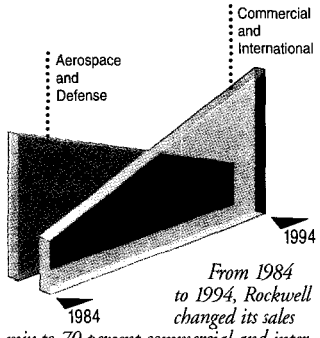
The Urban Relocator Movement has brought an estimated 5,500 (and rising) middle-class white, black, and Latino evangelical Protestants into deteriorated inner cities to carry out social ministry—as permanent residents. In some cases, whole churches have relocated, like the New Heritage Christian Center in Chicago's Englewood neighborhood. By serving as role models and connecting the neighborhood to outside friends and family who can offer job leads, tutoring, and donated services, these individuals hope to help seed troubled areas with good neighbors. The movement also aims to alleviate racial tensions. According to *Religion Watch*, "the presence of middle-class evangelical families in such cities as Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Chicago, and Los Angeles is bringing structural and personal changes to declining neighborhoods."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There's a lot m than you pro

VISION. Companies that have it possess the insight and inherent strength to create fundamental change. ▲ The kind of change that has enabled Rockwell to emerge as a powerful commercial force over the last ten years. ▲ This vision has changed our present sales mix to over 70 percent commercial and international business. It's made us a rapidly growing force in markets ranging from telecommunications and automotive to industrial automation – while maintaining our leadership positions in aerospace and defense. And today, it's driving us to be the

Changing Sales Composition



From 1984 to 1994, Rockwell changed its sales mix to 70 percent commercial and international by leveraging new technologies and products, unique synergies, and global opportunities to aggressively serve its customers.

Automation ▲ Avionics ▲ Telecommunications ▲ Defense Electronics ▲

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ore to Rockwell bably perceive.

world's best diversified high-technology company. ▲ By striving to make our customers the world's most successful, we have dramatically changed our $12.5 billion company. Creating new synergies, and putting leading-edge practices and technologies to work. ▲ Whether it's making cars smarter with advanced Rockwell electronics. Integrating head-up displays into avionics for major airlines. Becoming the world's leading supplier of modems for PCs and fax machines. Or building a $3.5 billion global industrial automation enterprise with our Allen-Bradley and Reliance Electric businesses. ▲ It's time to change your perception of Rockwell. For further information about our activities, write to Rockwell, P.O. Box 4251, Dept. AEN, Seal Beach, CA 90740-8251. You'll see a lot more in us than you ever imagined.

Aerospace ▲ Automotive ▲ Graphic Systems

Rockwell

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BY KARL ZINSMEISTER

Indicators

IS AMERICA AFRAID OF RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVES?

Last year, People For the American Way, the liberal advocacy group founded by Norman Lear, commissioned Democratic pollster Peter Hart to conduct a scientific study of U.S. public opinion on "the challenge of the religious Right." More than 1,000 registered voters were surveyed, and when the results were published late in 1994, Hart summarized them this way: "It is important to recognize at the outset that Americans, by and large, do not fear the religious Right or its influence.... **The public feels strongly that most of the criticisms leveled at the religious Right are exaggerated."** Some details:

Q: When you hear people criticizing the religious Right, do you think they are mainly raising legitimate concerns about this movement, or do you think they are just raising exaggerated fears and bias against religious people?

Legitimate concerns	**21%**
Exaggerated and biased fears	**61**

Q: Please tell me how serious a problem you feel this is for the country today:

The increasing influence of conservative religious groups in the political process.

Very serious	**15%**
Fairly serious	**13**

Source: Peter Hart Research Associates, fall 1994.

In September of 1994, Gallup pursued a similar line of inquiry in a national survey. Researchers first asked subjects whether they had ever "heard or read anything about the Christian Right in America," and then followed with this question:

Q: Which one of these two statements comes closer to how you would describe the Christian Right...?

Conservative Christians concerned about the country	**60%**
Extremists with narrow views	**34**

Source: Gallup Poll, September 1994.

WORRIED ABOUT MORAL DECLINE, AMERICANS MOURN THE PASSING OF RELIGIOUS VALUES

Americans now rate "a decline in moral values" as the "most serious problem" facing the U.S.—more critical by far than any economic, political, or foreign dilemma. The main source of our violence, welfare, education, and even economic ills, the public believes, is declining values. This attitude shows up in politics:

Q: I'm going to mention some things you could find out about a candidate for political office in your area. Please tell me if this is something that would make you more likely or less likely to support that candidate...

Put top priority on returning to traditional moral values

More likely to support	**74%**
Less likely to support	**7**

Source: Peter Hart Research Associates, fall 1994.

The public thinks that a central part of our national values problem is religious decline.

Q: Please tell me how serious a problem you feel this is for the country today:

The declining role of religion in our society.

Very or fairly serious	**63%**
Not serious	**17**

Source: Peter Hart Research Associates, fall 1994.

And government hostility to religious practice is perceived as a prime culprit.

Q: The Supreme Court and Congress have gone too far in keeping religious and moral values like prayer out of our laws, our schools, and many areas of our lives.

Mostly agree	**68%**
Mostly disagree	**28**

Q: If a candidate for political office stated that we have gone too far in forcing religion out of the public schools...

I would be more likely to support him	**47%**
I would be less likely to support him	**29**

Sources: Yankelovich Partners, January 1993; Peter Hart Research Associates, fall 1994.

Hart researchers find that only a small portion of Americans are dismissive of the concerns of religious conservatives. By cross-tabulating voters who *don't* worry about national religious decline with those who *do* worry "about people using government to impose religious viewpoints," they identify voters who are "very hostile to the religious Right." Such individuals, they report, total 18 percent of the electorate.

IS RELIGIOUS PRACTICE WAXING OR WANING IN THE UNITED STATES?

A recent *U.S. News* poll found that 62 percent of Americans say the influence of religion in their own lives is increasing. Yet data from Gallup show weekly church attendance fluctuating only slightly (at around 40 percent of the U.S. population, versus 45 percent in the 1950s).

There is no reason to assume the modern trend in religious observance must be downward. At the time of the American Revolution, only 17 percent of our adult population belonged to a church. By Civil War days the figure had risen to 37 percent. It passed 50 percent in the early years of the 20th century, and reached 73 percent in the 1950s and 1960s. Today, church membership is just under 70 percent.

Whether religious observance is rising, falling, or holding steady, one thing is clear: worship continues to be a central part of life for millions of Americans. **Total attendance at U.S. religious services was 5.6 billion in 1993—*54 times* the total admissions for all professional baseball, football, and basketball games that same year.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHAT ROLE DOES RELIGION PLAY IN AMERICAN DAILY LIFE?

In Gallup and Barna Research surveys, between 60 and 70 percent of all Americans say religion is "very important" to them; another quarter report it is "fairly or somewhat important." Only 8 to 14 percent of the population say religion is "not important" to them.

A large 1994 Times Mirror study found that 8 out of 10 adults describe themselves as God-fearing churchgoers who pray. This helps explain the consistent support for voluntary prayer in public schools, which is backed by three-quarters of all American adults, and more than 60 percent of all teenaged students.

One might ask to what extent the religious enthusiasms of Americans are backed up in belief and action. On this point, consider that Barna data show **half of all Americans have read the Bible at least once outside of church during the past week.** One person in seven reads Scripture every day. One out of every four Americans currently participates in "a small group Bible study, fellowship group, or prayer group, other than a Sunday School class." Not including Sunday schools, **there are currently 900,000 active Bible-study circles in the United States,** Princeton sociologist Robert Wuthnow estimates.

Only 16 percent of all Americans believe "the Bible is a collection of fables and legends," according to Gallup. Just 20 percent of the public agrees that "the whole idea of sin is outdated," Barna reports. Asked if it is true that "the Ten Commandments are not relevant for people living today," only 18 percent of Americans concur.

SERIOUS CHRISTIANS

Where religious perspectives exist at all in the nation's newsrooms, universities, and corporate suites, they tend to be the lukewarm views and practices of mainline religious denominations. But in the broader American society, more personal and intense varieties of religious practice predominate.

Many in the nation's professional class are surprised to learn that two-thirds of everyday Americans currently report they have "made a personal commitment to Jesus Christ." On the more narrow question **"Would you describe yourself as a 'born-again' or evangelical Christian?", the fraction of the U.S. population answering "yes" has registered at between 34 and 46 percent throughout the 1990s,** depending on the surveyer and the year.

A demographic profile of born-again Americans shows the following:

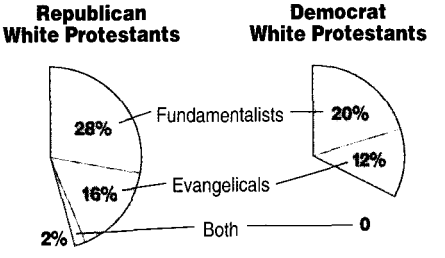
Percentage of Various Groups Describing Themselves as Born-Again

Men	36%
Women	44
Whites	43
Blacks	40
High school or less education	39
Some college education	55
College graduates	35
Northeast	29
South	54
Midwest	39
West	32
Catholic	22
Protestant	57

Source: Barna Research Group, 1992.

Born-again Christians are so numerous they are necessarily present in large numbers in most broad national groupings. A recent survey of U.S. small business owners, for instance, found that 43 percent are evangelicals.

There are subsets among the 4-out-of-10 Americans who qualify as born-again. A 1995 survey by the Coldwater Corporation showed that 24 percent of all white Protestants, for instance, label themselves "fundamentalist," while 14 percent prefer the term "evangelical," and 1 percent say they are both. These serious Christians are present in both the Republican and the Democratic parties:



Source: Coldwater Corp., 1995.

John Green of the University of Akron, one of the nation's leading experts on this subject, calculated in 1994 that up to 27 percent of the total U.S. electorate is in "close" or "very close" agreement with the views of "the religious Right." When asked directly in September 1994, "Do you think of yourself as a member of the conservative Christian movement, or not?", one American in five (20%) told Gallup "yes." An even bigger group of morally conservative Catholics, Jews, Mormons, evangelicals, and mainline Protestant representing **half the U.S. population is "open to the religious Right message,"** according to Green.

BEHAVIOR AND ATTITUDE PROFILE OF THE RELIGIOUS

	Among people who attended church this week	Among people who read the Bible this week	Among people who have been "born again"	Among the general population
In the past month, did you volunteer your time or money to help needy people in your area? **[Yes]**	67%	69%	65%	60%
In the past month, did you volunteer your time or money to help needy people in other countries? **[Yes]**	35	35	33	24
How important is "your community" to you? **[Very]**	60	60	56	52
How important is "money" to you? **[Very]**	36	40	32	40
How important is "government and politics" to you? **[Very]**	36	40	33	34
Do you agree that "lying is sometimes necessary"? **[Agree]**	30	26	27	36
Do you agree that "Abortion is morally wrong"? **[Agree Strongly]**	61	58	63	45
Do you agree that "today's popular music has a negative influence on most people"? **[Agree]**	61	63	63	52
Do you agree that "men are better leaders than are women"? **[Agree]**	22	26	24	20
Have you read part of a book (other than the Bible) during the last seven days? **[Yes]**	69	73	69	67

Source: Barna Research Group, 1992.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RELIGIOUS AMERICANS IN POLITICS

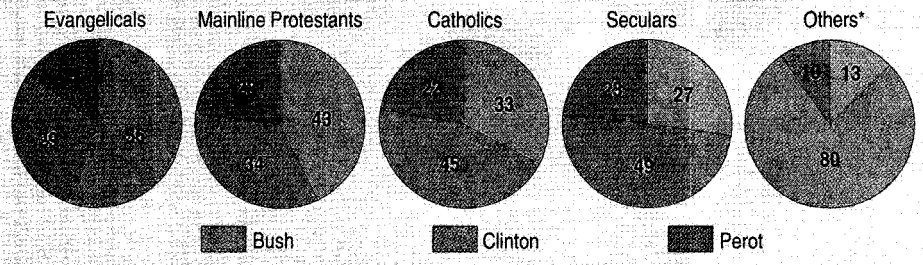
Religious perspective is now a critical influence at the polls. Political observer Michael Barone notes that support for Clinton, Bush, and Perot varied more in 1992 by strength of religious belief than by income, occupation, or other classification.

1992 Presidential Vote by Religion	Evangelicals	Mainline Protestants	Catholics	Seculars	Others*
Clinton's vote breakdown	18%	17%	26%	18%	21%
Bush's vote breakdown	38	24	22	11	5
Perot's vote breakdown	20	26	29	19	6

* "Others" includes black Protestants, small Christian denominations, Jews, and other non-Christians.
Source: University of Michigan data summarized by John C. Green, James L. Guth, Lyman A. Kellstedt, and Corwin E. Smidt.

Another way to interpret the data above is to look at it in terms of voter choices rather than candidate vote totals. That comes out this way:

1992 Vote Distribution by Religion



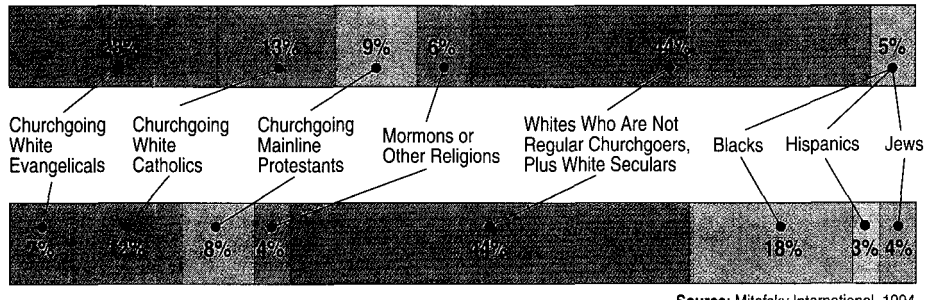
Source: John Green, et al. * "Others" includes black Protestants, small Christian denominations, Jews, and other non-Christians.

It isn't only religious denomination that affects political outlook, but also religious intensity. Among white mainline Protestants who went to church, George Bush was the 1992 favorite with 44 percent of the vote, compared to 32 for Clinton and 24 for Perot. Among mainliners who did not go to church, Clinton came out on top with 43 percent, compared to 28 percent each for Bush and Perot.

Among Catholics, regular churchgoing also connected to big differences in voting: Clinton won 43 percent of churched white Catholics, versus 61 percent of the unchurched, according to David Leege of the University of Notre Dame.

John Green and colleagues identify "highly committed" persons within each faith, and likewise find political correlations. For instance, while Bush won 56 percent of the evangelical vote in 1992, he swept 70 percent among "highly committed evangelicals." Likewise, Bush lost Catholics as a whole to Clinton, by 33 to 45 percent, but among "highly committed Catholics" he broke even—40 to 39 percent. Within black Protestantism, Judaism, and other minor faiths, support for Bush was nearly twice as high among the "highly committed" as among the religious rank and file.

Breakdown of Republican Voters in 1994



Breakdown of Democratic Voters in 1994

Source: Mitofsky International, 1994.

SURPRISING GENERATION GAP

Young Americans seem to be more tolerant of religious conservatism than older ones. In 1994, Democratic pollster Peter Hart asked people whether they would be more or less likely to support a candidate if they learned he "was closely associated with right-wing religious groups and supported the positions of the Religious Right." Within the age groups 30–44, 45–59, and, especially, 60+, the "right-wing religious" tag inspired more negative than positive feeling. But persons 18–29 actually said they would be likelier to support such a candidate. Among evangelicals, we know, the young are about 20 percentage points likelier than the old to support the GOP.

RELIGIOUS VOTERS IN 1994

Exit polling indicates that born-again Americans accounted for fully a third of the total national vote in 1994; 69 percent of these individuals voted Republican for Congress. Religious conservatives represented the single largest bloc among Republican voters (see graph at bottom left).

"In 1994, religion was more powerful than economics," conclude Green, Guth, Kellstedt, and Smidt, who estimate that conservative Christian groups "probably mobilized 4 million activists and reached 50 million voters." This may have made the difference in 30 Republican congressional victories, the researchers maintain.

Noting that "coping with a religious revival is something the Republican party is not yet prepared for, and that the Democrats seem almost entirely uninterested in," political theorist Irving Kristol argues that "the influx of religious conservatives into American politics is analogous to the influx of European immigrants between 1870 and 1914. The Democrats welcomed them while the Republicans shunned them. That was the origin of the 'natural' Democratic majority. But Democrats are very unlikely to welcome religious conservatives in the foreseeable future. **If Republicans, too, keep them at arm's length, a third party and a restructuring of American politics are certain."**

"In the decades ahead," Kristol concludes, "religious conservatives will not be denied."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

two views

IS THE CHRISTIAN CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT A THREAT TO JEWS? ABRAHAM FOXMAN AND RABBI DANIEL LAPIN HAVE TWO VIEWS.

Christian Conservatism and the Jews

After all the bluster and sometimes hysterical debate over the conservative Christian political movement, one simple concern lingers for much of the American Jewish community: In the attempt to "fix" a society that has reputedly turned against religious freedom and Christian values, Jews and others will be hurt.

I do not say this because I think the movement threatens to establish a theocracy or is anti-Semitic. Nor because well-organized Christian conservatives are choosing to play an active part in the political process of our country—that is every citizen's right. I say it because it is happening. Perhaps most vividly, it is happening in the nation's schools. Conservative Christians believe public schools epitomize the nation's swelling anti-religious bigotry, that schools squelch, even despise, the religious expressions of their students. A proposed "Religious Liberty Amendment" would constitutionally redress this.

IN THE ATTEMPT TO "FIX" A SOCIETY THAT HAS REPUTEDLY TURNED AGAINST RELIGIOUS FREEDOM AND CHRISTIAN VALUES, JEWS AND OTHERS WILL BE HURT.

The sincerity of those who believe their children's (and their own) religious beliefs are under siege is clear, but it is also clear that the most egregious anti-religious acts complained about by religious conservatives are flagrantly unconstitutional. Americans are already protected by the most effective religious liberty provision in history: the First Amendment. To advocate a new amendment inevitably tilts the balance away from the First Amendment's separation of church and state.

The doctrine of church/state separation has become a whipping boy for religious conservatives, who see the "liberal" interpretation of the doctrine as secularist degeneration. In fact, church/state separation continues to function as our country's greatest mechanism for consensus and inclusion.

In the schools, its importance can hardly be overstated. In Duncanville, Texas, for instance, a 12-year-old girl objected to her coach leading the girls' basketball team in a Christian prayer,

The reason Jews are secure in America is not because of governmental secularism—far from it. They are secure because of the deep religious convictions of ordinary Americans, most of whom would heartily denounce anti-Semitic decrees because they firmly believe the Scriptural injunction that God said to the Jews, "I will bless those that bless you, and those that curse you shall I curse." It was faith that motivated most of the Christians who rescued Jews (among them ADL Director Abraham Foxman) during the Holocaust. Christian schools honor these heroes as role models by using books such as Corrie ten Boom's *The Hiding Place,* a work all but unknown in the Jewish community.

It is contemporary liberalism, not Christian conservatism, that threatens Jewish freedom today. To Jews, religious liberty is not an empty slogan, but the ability to follow the Mosaic Law's concrete commands. It means, for example, having the freedom to slaughter animals for meat in accordance with the Jewish dietary laws. It means being free to circumcise our baby boys eight days after birth. When Sweden recently tried to ban Jewish animal slaughter, it did so at the behest of its left-wing animal-rights fanatics, not its Swedish Lutheran pastors. And at this very moment, the Clinton administration threatens to institute new Department of Agriculture regulations that would effectively outlaw the production of kosher meat. Similarly, whenever the practice of circumcision has come under attack, it has always been at the hands of ultra-liberal child-rights extremists, not men like Pat Robertson.

Beyond such specifically religious concerns, ordinary Jews share the worries of most ordinary Americans. And it is clear that Jews do not get raped, robbed, or murdered by Christians on their way home from church. On the contrary, today's frightening urban brutalities are perpetrated by the products of secular liberalism: young male predators who have never in their lives heard the phrase, "Thou shalt not...." To keep perspective on the occasional outrage perpetrated by someone claiming to be a Christian, we should think of the countless outrages perpetrated every day by irreligious criminals, whose theology the media never links to their deeds.

In attempting to restore civility to our public places, Jews—whose very existence validates biblical morality—should naturally ally themselves with Christian conservatives who possess the political muscle and will to uphold our common moral framework, upon which so much depends, including Jewish re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on their knees at center court, before each game. A brief submitted to the court hearing the case by the Anti-Defamation League spoke to the heart of the issue: "Subtle yet powerful coercive pressures exist in elementary and secondary schools which increase the danger that any connection between school officials and religious practices will convey the message to students with religious beliefs different than the majority that they are outsiders, less valued members of the community."

In another case this spring, Rachel Bauchman, a 16-year-old sophomore at a public high school in Salt Lake City, sued to enjoin her school's choir, of which she was a member, from singing Christian songs at graduation. As a Jew, Bauchman did not believe she should be expected to sing devotionals in a for-credit music class. (She originally asked only for "more balance" in the choir teacher's selections during the school year, but to no avail.) "No student should feel like a second-class citizen in their own choir," Bauchman told the *New York Times.* "I was left out, I was laughed at, I was whispered about."

A federal court barred the two scheduled Christian selections at graduation, but after the choir performed secular replacement pieces, a student took the stage and led one of the Christian songs. Bauchman left the ceremony. "I felt extremely horrible," she told the *Times.*

Rachel Bauchman was not forced to sing Christian songs. She was told she could sit in the library during rehearsals and still receive an "A." And perhaps the young girl in Duncanville, Texas, was given the option of sitting alone on the bench while the team prayed together on the court. But these "choices" hardly solve the problem. Measures in the schools aimed at weakening church-state separation—by allowing, for instance, organized prayer if it is "student-initiated"—will turn some children into outsiders solely because of their religious beliefs.

Students forbidden to say grace before a meal or disallowed expression of their beliefs in their schoolwork will still have recourse to the courts. But what of Rachel Bauchman? "I had 4,000 eyes staring at me," she said of her hasty exit from the graduation ceremony. Will another child, less self-assured, sing with the choir, though it trespasses her beliefs, to avoid being ostracized?

Classroom battles are merely one aspect of a larger struggle to protect minority rights. Conservative Christian efforts to revitalize a spiritually and morally depleted nation are commendable, but they go wrong when they attempt moral revival through state authority. In their push for a religious freedom amendment, conservative Christian leaders offer a troubled culture the balm of pure majoritarianism.

Yet the Constitution was designed to protect minorities from the moods of the majority. America's foremost cultural legacy is our constitutional heritage of a secular republic, which in splendid irony provides the greatest shelter and genuine succor for religious liberty.

Abraham H. Foxman is National Director of the Anti-Defamation League.

ligious liberty and opportunity. Those now frantically opposing America's religious conservatives should not mislead the public into believing that they act in the name of Judaism. They do not. They are acting in the name of liberalism and its destructive interests.

It is ludicrous, for example, when secular liberal Jewish organizations present abortion-on-demand and homosexual rights as Jewish concerns; these and many other secular liberal policies flatly contradict the Torah. And on more complicated issues like school prayer, where Jewish and Christian leaders are on both sides, it is unfair to label one side anti-Semitic.

Of course there are anti-Semites in America today. But the overwhelming majority of Christian Americans object not to Jews flourishing in America but to the forced removal from public life of all Godly principles upon which America was founded and has prospered. The restoration of traditional acknowledgements of those principles in public life may well mean that a Jewish child will occasionally feel separate from his peers during, say, a school prayer. But the origin of the very word *Hebrew* implies a willingness to stand separate, and if necessary, alone. Tolerating a brief school prayer hardly seems an unbearable sacrifice. Besides, holding oneself gracefully apart from speech or behavior with which one personally differs is a universal experience, part of reaching maturity for every person.

WE JEWS MUST LIBERATE OURSELVES FROM MISPLACED FAITH IN SECULAR LIBERALISM AND FACE THE TRUTH: INCREASED CHRISTIAN COMMITMENT IN AMERICA IS NOT A THREAT. IT IS A BLESSING.

The rise of politically active Christians in America should not inspire thoughts of menacing medieval European theocracies. The real choice for Jews today is between life in a society benignly modulated by devout, family-oriented, philo-Semitic citizens, or life in a deteriorating secular society lacking the inspirations and restraints of religious knowledge. In addition to its other horrors, that sort of decaying society has inevitably been anti-Semitic.

We Jews must liberate ourselves from misplaced faith in secular liberalism and face the truth: Increased Christian commitment in America is not a threat. It is a blessing.

Rabbi Daniel Lapin is president of Toward Tradition in Mercer Island, Washington, and hosts a radio show on KVI in Seattle.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religious Conservatives, Up Close

DESPITE THE FACT THAT THEY REPRESENT MORE THAN A THIRD OF THE POPULATION (SEE **INDICATORS**), AMERICANS WHO MIGHT BE DESCRIBED AS RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVES ARE ONE OF THE LEAST-WELL-UNDERSTOOD AND MOST CARICATURED GROUPS IN THE NATION. IN THE HOPE OF MAKING THEIR LIVES AND VIEWS BETTER KNOWN, WE PRESENT IN THIS SPECIAL ISSUE OF OUR MAGAZINE PROFILES OF 41 SUCH INDIVIDUALS, GROUPED IN FIVE DIFFERENT SETS. CONTRARY TO SOME CLAIMS, RELIGIOUS CONSERVATIVES COME IN A WIDE VARIETY OF TYPES, AND IN THE PAGES THAT FOLLOW WE LET A CROSS-SECTION OF THE PROMINENT AND THE OBSCURE SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES. THESE PROFILES ARE BASED ON THREE MONTHS OF INTERVIEWING, AND WERE PRODUCED BY MARJORIE STINCHCOMBE, SCOTT WALTER, CHRISTINE DOANE, MARTIN MORSE WOOSTER, BILL KAUFFMAN, AND KARL ZINSMEISTER.

JANET AKREMI

Janet Akremi's faith imbues everything she does. And she does a lot. The 44-year-old mother of six has homeschooled all of her children. She practices as an emergency room physician in Warrensburg, Missouri. And she has been an active midwife and community volunteer for many years. In each activity, Akremi's Muslim faith plays a central role.

Akremi was not born a Muslim. "My mom's Presbyterian, which is an okay thing to be, but it did not fit me at all. I can remember arguing with her about it at nine or ten." Akremi started testing religions and philosophies as a university and medical student. She was an early advocate of natural foods, homeschooling, and women's health clinics during the 1970s. But it was being a midwife that made her realize religion's central importance for her life. "You can't be a midwife and not be religious. You have to become conscious that you are searching at a spiritual level in order to do that well. It made me sit and shut up and think about it." And when Akremi started reading the Koran, she knew her search was over. "It's a book that draws you in. As you get deeper and deeper into it, it just goes yes, yes, yes and starts to make sense, the whole thing."

"Americans think of religion as a compartmentalized thing," but Akremi thinks that the Muslim faith is more holistic. "In the Koran there are things ranging from the practicalities of everyday life to the very loftiest philosophical ideas. You get a really rich picture of a whole way of approaching things."

One of Akremi's most important decisions was to homeschool all her children, whose ages currently range from two to the mid-twenties. "In public school I thought they were wasting their time on things that had nothing to do with learning. And not ever really tackling difficult philosophical material."

Akremi feels kinship with other religious people. "There is enough trouble out there for anyone trying to live a well-intentioned, well-thought-out life. I feel an identification with and a need to support other believers." Akremi particularly feels a bond with Christians and Muslims trying to raise their children away from some of the unhealthy influences of modern-day America. "Children of Christian fundamentalists, who are trying to live a good life, are usually much better potential playmates than your average kid who plays GI Joe and goes to public school and deals with the weirdness that goes with violence, drugs, and sexuality."

Akremi mistrusts politicians who call themselves religious. "I don't think that they use religion in a religious way—it is transformed into a political football." She does, however, think that religion could be useful to solve political problems. "My religious beliefs guide me through my problems. I would like to expect no less of other people. I think that would be wonderful, but I do not see that even remotely happening at this point."

Meanwhile, Akremi continues to practice her faith, praying five times daily for the strength she needs as a doctor and mother. "In my own life, there are dozens of instances each day when I make my feelings and worries known, and then hand them over to God."

NONA BRAZIER

Nona Brazier believes it is the mandate of the church to care for the poor. The government should focus on increasing economic growth and running the criminal justice system. Soon, Brazier will find out

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

how many of her fellow citizens in the state of Washington agree with her—for she is running for election as that state's first female black Republican governor in 1996.

Growing up, church had been more of a social and cultural center for Brazier, but later in life she developed a close relationship with Jesus Christ. "I really came into an understanding and personal faith in 1978," she says. Brazier belongs to an Assemblies of God church, and lives a faith built on an "intimate relationship with a living God." She does not feel the need to hide any of this in the political arena. "My faith is an integral part of me, just like my race, gender, and nationality—it is all part of me. I don't think I can separate it out, and I don't think I should separate it out."

On the domestic front she believes that "the family and marriage are ordained institutions that predate civil law. Civil law has to respect those institutions and cannot usurp their authority."

—Nona Brazier

Brazier, who runs a successful medium-size business, calls herself an economic, social, and cultural conservative. Reducing government intrusion and regulation from certain areas of society is a large part of her platform. She views this as critical to the economic prosperity that is the only lasting source of increased opportunity and improved living standards.

On the domestic front she believes that "the family and marriage are ordained institutions that predate civil law. Civil law has to respect those institutions and cannot usurp their authority." She says that public schools have confused the question of control over the direction of children. "Parents have a sense that they have to answer to the institution rather than having the institution answer to them."

Brazier argues that many African-American politicians have not been representing their constituencies. "Most surveys show that African Americans are socially, culturally more conservative than the population at large. Yet, leadership—or so-called leadership, the people who have had the ear of the media—have been very liberal." Only recently have conservative African Americans had a voice in politics, she notes.

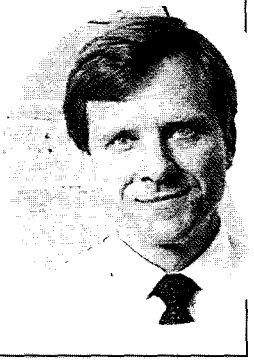
Brazier wants welfare to be under local control instead of federal. "The main thing is to devolve the whole process back to the states and then the states need to devolve back to a very local level. Benevolence needs to be close to the individual, it does not need to be micro-managed by federal or state bureaucracies." Brazier thinks that churches have neglected their mandate to care for the poor. "If you look back a generation, it was the church that was talking about getting rid of racism, taking care of the poor, feeding the hungry, housing the homeless. Instead of the church doing what it is supposed to do, it ran off to get legislation passed and taxes in place." Now, Brazier says, churches need to reclaim their helping roles. "There are responsibilities and discipline that go with charity. You must hold people accountable. That can only be done at a personal, very local level." Brazier worries that conservative churches could be making the same mistake their liberal counterparts did 30 years ago. "My concern now is that the conservative churches in talking about rebuilding the family and establishing righteous principles in this world will run off and write legislation to get it done. Both the liberal Left and the conservative Right ignore the power of God when they do that."

Brazier's husband is a member of the Christian men's group Promise Keepers, which she sees as a very positive influence on male behavior, and which she thinks will help bring people of all ages and races together. Brazier believes progress is being made in this area. "The Assemblies of God church and the Churches of God and Christ were born together and separated along racial lines years ago mainly because of pressure from the states. Now they are coming back together." Brazier also notes that the Southern Baptist Convention recently apologized to black Americans for support in earlier eras of racial segregation and discrimination. Brazier also sees people in the black community beginning to open up. "This is the job of the Holy Spirit—it is certainly not something that government can do."

Brazier's position on criminal justice is a reflection of her faith. "People who believe that man is just an evolved creature and product of his environment come up with a criminal justice system that says if you kill or beat up somebody that is because of your environment." Brazier is weary of criminal behavior being excused this way. "Human beings are free moral agents with responsibility for their own actions, and the criminal justice system should reflect this."

Brazier likens abortion to slavery. "It really does not matter what legislation you write or what the Supreme Court says—it is wrong. It is a fundamental scar on the soul of the nation, and the nation cannot advocate it, endorse it, or pay for it." She sees common ground for Americans on this issue: "Many people who are pro-choice do not believe in abortion in the third trimester, do not believe in publicly funded abortions, believe that a spouse should be notified or even give consent, believe that a parent should have say over their minor child. Those are the things Americans agree on."

The Washington governor's primary is not until September 1996, but Brazier is already traveling throughout the state. And she sees reasons for hope. "As I move around, everybody seems to be on the same sheet of music. They want the opportunity to be productive, they want less interference in their family life, and they want the state to maintain a criminal justice system that keeps law-abiding citizens safe—that's about all a politician can do."



Jerry Forbes

Every month, Jerry Forbes gives 10 percent of his profits away. "My wife primarily runs that part of our company, and she takes great delight in looking at where any contribution we make could do the most good." Among the institutions that the Forbeses have supported are their church, Johns Hopkins pediatric oncology researchers, the Ronald McDonald House, and a Florida home for orphans. Their generosity is rooted in their faith. "We absolutely feel an obligation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to help—it is really based on tithing 10 percent of the earnings of the corporation."

With his wife, Forbes runs a small business in Towanda, Pennsylvania that designs and builds machinery. He describes himself as a fundamentalist, which he defines as "holding to the truths of the Bible." He has a daughter, now working as an executive at EDS, the big computer services firm, who attended Liberty University, founded by Jerry Falwell. The loss of another daughter to childhood cancer was a hard blow that tested but also strengthened his faith.

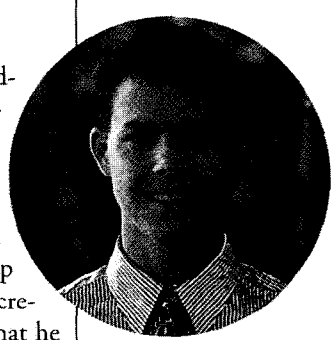
Forbes' dream is to found a nondenominational religious school open to all in his lightly populated part of Pennsylvania. Few religious schools are available to families in his area, and if his business were ever to really take off this is where he would most like to contribute to the community.

While skeptical of politicians who "will say what it takes to get elected," Forbes believes it is a good idea to apply religious perspectives to this country's problems. "Obviously you don't need to try and force your own personal religion on anyone, but the moral values of this country are going downhill, and this is a cause of many social problems." He is also concerned about "the degradation of the family unit from what used to be considered a traditional family. Everything emanates from that as far as social and even economic problems." Forbes sees the soaring crime rate and people's increased willingness to lie and cheat all as evidence of a lack of values. "People in this day and age cannot be trusted to keep their word as much as they could 20, or 30 years ago—to me it all relates to a decay of the moral fiber."

Holcomb thinks his faith and science are in balance. "They are in harmony. Since I believe I know who made this world and all the animals in it, I am even more excited to work with them."

—Patrick Holcomb

Patrick Holcomb



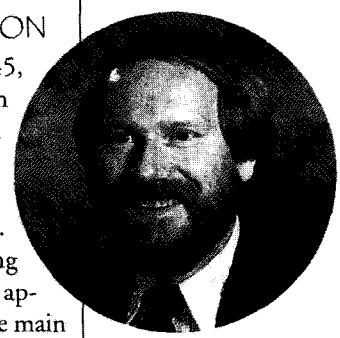
Patrick Holcomb, a recent graduate of Virginia Tech with a degree in wildlife science, hopes to work as a field biologist. He is not troubled by the debate over creationism and evolution because he has already made up his mind. "I know that God created the Earth, and I enjoy what he has created."

"Some friends invited me to a Christian conference a few years ago, and that is where I accepted Christ as my savior," says the 21-year old. "I felt really convicted because I was doing things that hurt the God who created me." He stopped swearing, drinking ("drinking is not a sin, but being drunk is"), and decided to wait until marriage to have sex.

His new religion didn't create problems in his science classes. "I don't say much of anything. I just kind of protect myself and think what I feel is right."

Holcomb's religious conversion has not changed his career plans. He still wants to be a scientist. He spent the summer working at the Mountain Lake Biological Station in Virginia. "I want to be a biologist, a field technician, and maybe a professor one day." Holcomb thinks his faith and science are in balance. "They are in harmony. Since I believe I know who made this world and all the animals in it, I am even more excited to work with them."

John Johnson



At age 45, pastor John Johnson wants to go to medical school. He is taking his MCATs this summer and applying next year. His faith is the main reason he is taking the leap. Johnson respects human life, and having traveled across the world and seen children die of easily curable problems like dehydration he wants to become a healer. The combination of medicine and God's word, he hopes, could make him a big help to those in need.

Johnson has been a Christian for a little over half of his life. "I was a rank pagan until I was 21. When we started this interview, Bob Dylan was playing in the background," he points out, "and those were some of my favorite songs at one point." Johnson was a physics major in college, and "a very argumentative agnostic. I began reading the Scriptures in order to challenge Christians. But the Bible kind of took me by storm."

"After I became a Christian in my senior year I still had questions, though, and nobody was answering them." So Johnson traveled to the L'Abri community in Switzerland to study under Francis Schaeffer, a prominent American theologian. "He was a great man—so I sat at his feet and asked a lot of questions and he gave a lot of answers. I spent some months over there in 1973. And then I went on to seminary." At L'Abri, Johnson and others, including his future wife, would read the Bible, discuss it, and inquire further. The interplay strengthened Johnson's faith and gave him a model for the congregation of 180 people he now leads in upstate New York.

Johnson feels strongly about abortion. "To me abortion is the biggest sore in the land. Violence against the most defenseless of little ones, violence that we officially sanction, has led to a larger devaluing of life in this country." Johnson's wife is the director of a crisis pregnancy center, and he has talked with women who regretted having an abortion. "I was meeting with a young lady who is now a Christian but who was not at the time. She had had an abortion 10 years earlier, and the effect of it on her was astounding, because now she was single and wanted to be married but there was no one. The thought was entering her mind, because she was in her mid-thirties, that she would never have a baby; the only one she ever would have, she had killed. This is quite common." Johnson annually speaks on abortion at the anniversary of *Roe v. Wade,* and would love to have a human life amendment which "would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

safeguard human life from conception to old age. I would support it with my life's blood. To me that is the only amendment worth putting into the Constitution." But he is not inclined to become actively involved on the political side of the issue. "I appreciate Operation Rescue, but I am not certain that it is right." Johnson also forcefully condemns the use of violence in the movement. "It is dead wrong—and it could not be defended in a billion years. I can't imagine anyone who is pro-life killing anyone, it is so incongruous."

Johnson thinks that "associating Christianity with a particular political bent is wrong." For instance, he says he did not like it when Jerry Falwell, a man he respects, connected tax cuts and Christianity. "I have a hard time with that. I believe taxes ought to be cut not because the Lord demands it but because high taxes are basically destructive of the economy."

When Johnson is speaking in his church, he does not focus on political issues. Instead he focuses on the Bible. "I have been going through the Book of Romans now for a long time—almost a year now. I believe that to address these political issues directly at the pulpit is not the church's function. Freedom is a gift from God and therefore people have got to be free to oppose me with all their heart, mind, soul, and strength, and I rejoice in that freedom."

Johnson does try to reach out to other non-Christians. While he was living in England he practiced street evangelism. He tries to show non-Christians the joy of Christ. "I have a genuine love for non-Christians. If I could go and preach to 180 non-Christians on Sunday that would be a delight. Not just because I see non-Christians as grist for my mill. I was a non-Christian for about half my life, and now Christ is the joy of my heart. I just want to share that."

Christina Pimentel

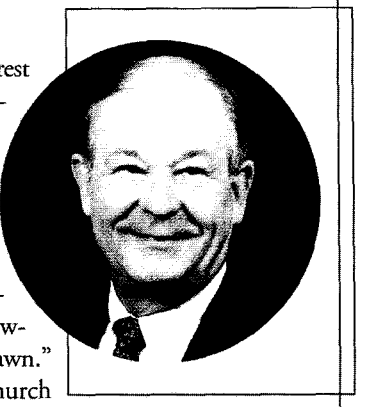
Christina Pimentel, 16, of Grants Pass, Oregon, is a big Beatles fan who also writes papers on the covenant of grace for the Calvinist school she attends.

Her school is as small (last year she and one other student were the entire 10th grade) as her vocabulary is large. "My religion permeates my whole life," says Christina, who worships at a Reformed Presbyterian church with her mother and father and brother and sister. "My speech—there are certain words I won't say; my dating and how I behave; the company I keep."

Yet she has no patience for segregated Christianity. "I'm not part of it," she says of the world of Christian rock and coffee houses and bookstores. "I don't like it. I don't like Christian music. I feel they're creating a cloister. They build walls where they feel they're apart from the world. I feel we should be part of the world. We should live our life as an example to others." Besides, adds this daughter of musicians, "Christian music is really mediocre."

Christina follows politics closely. She counts herself "a very conservative Republican, but not radical. And somewhat of an environmentalist." Pat Buchanan is virtually a fifth Beatle to her. But she disdains the more politically active members of the religious right. "If they really want to save souls they should minister. The churches are dying—yet all these political religious groups are springing up. You can't save souls at the ballot box."

James Songster



When James Songster moved to Forest City, North Carolina, he went looking for a church where he would feel "uncomfortable." And he visited two dozen congregations before he finally settled on one. "What I mean is I was looking for a church where I would feel challenged—and feel God's spirit drawing me in ways I wasn't already drawn." Songster was also looking for a church that reached out to its surroundings. "There are several things I look for in a church: how active the laity is, whether there is a spiritual emphasis, whether there is opportunity for personal spiritual growth, and whether they are taking their faith and moving it out into the community and doing something with it." Songster ultimately ended up in a Southern Baptist fellowship.

As a child, the 58-year-old Songster never went to church, but he has felt the influence of religion for most of his life. "I guess I have been a seeker from the time I was very young. My family didn't attend church until I was about 14 years old—but even before that I was interested." At a conference of Christian athletes, Songster experienced a turning point. "I was about 28 years old, and I was sort of coming to the end of myself and saying you can't do this on your own. It was discovering God's grace in my own life that completely changed my perspective not only about my faith and religious affiliation but toward every part of my life, my family, my job."

Helping others is the cornerstone of Songster's faith. A former teacher and headmaster, he is now the executive director of the McNair Foundation, which develops educational programs and gives scholarships to deserving students in Rutherford County, North Carolina. In his volunteer time, Songster helps out at a program called Family Self-Sufficiency. "We work with families individually to help them become more self-supporting and build up equity to buy a home." Songster also helps them find jobs and access to education, and teaches them how to live within a budget. He finds clubs, churches, and businesses to sponsor each family in the program. His own church sponsors one of the 25 participating families.

Songster worries that some religious groups may be too exclusive, implying that "if you don't match up, there is something the matter with you. I don't think there is enough opportunity for honest discussion and trying to discover what God is like by hearing different opinions."

Songster also thinks some political labels stifle debate. "One of my pet peeves is putting people in boxes—it happens to individuals, and to organizations as well." When pushed, he labels

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

himself "theologically conservative and socially liberal in some respects," and he thinks religion does have a place in politics and on the social agenda. "I would say the recent history in the United States of trying to separate them has pretty well proven that it does not work. With some reason and careful consideration it can work, and a lot of the more successful social programs do have a religious component."

Racial reconciliation is a major goal of Songster's. "I feel we have to recognize that some people have been unjustly treated. I don't believe in quotas, but I do believe in helping to level the playing field by providing additional training and opportunities for education." His beliefs in this area reflect his interest in helping fellow human beings. But Songster never feels he is acting alone. "There is no way you can be good on your own," he says. "You're only good by the grace of God."

Wolfe thinks the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities should be abolished. "I don't believe that in a free society the government has any business in those areas, because it inevitably creates a quasi-official art, and that is wrong."

—Gregory Wolfe

Gregory Wolfe

For Gregory Wolfe, art is not a luxury, it is a staple of life, part of the imagination and creativity that distinguish humans from other animals. Helping Americans see art as an essential part of their spiritual lives is the major goal of his work as editor of a magazine called *Image: A Journal of The Arts & Religion.*

Photo Credit: Peter Lester

Wolfe went through a long personal search to find his own religious convictions. "I began taking religion seriously in a conscious way in high school, and I've undergone a sort of spiritual pilgrimage, certainly denominationally." Wolfe was a Christian Scientist as a young child, attended a Congregationalist church in junior high and high school, an Episcopalian church during college, and ended up as a Roman Catholic for the last 12 years. "The concrete moral stands of the Catholic church were extremely important to me. When it came to concrete moral choices, all the other churches seemed to be collapsing in one way or another."

Wolfe is a writer himself, with a master's degree in English literature, and through his publication he has been able to combine his two interests. "I love bringing together really outstanding writers and artists. And the subject I am most passionate about is the relationship between religion and the arts."

The connection between art and religion, Wolfe points out, is an ancient one. "The religious dimension has for almost all of history been the center of art. It's only the last couple centuries where there has been a rather tense or problematic separation between religion and art." Wolfe wants to show that there are still many gifted artists and writers at work whose "faith inspires them to the highest artistic heights." He is also working to overcome some of the prejudice Christian artists encounter today. "The Freudian model of religion equaling escapism is breaking up. Mainstream reviewers and critics are accepting that religion can lead human beings into a much more difficult but ultimately rewarding engagement with the nitty-gritty of life."

Wolfe is highly critical of the politicization of art, which he views as "destructive and counterproductive in many ways." At the same time, he doesn't believe just criticizing politicized art is enough. One must also find something to celebrate. Wolfe uses an analogy. "If you are constantly spraying insecticides on stuff that you don't like, but you are never actually turning over the soil and putting in fertilizer, eventually nothing is going to grow."

Wolfe's mission is to hold up classic religiously inspired art. At the same time, he warns against the view that the only good art is old art. "I am a conservative, but many conservatives don't really believe that contemporary art can be powerful and amazing. They tend to act like the only great art is safely tucked away in museums." Contemporary artists, he acknowledges, need to work harder to show the value of art.

Wolfe thinks the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities should be abolished. "I don't believe that in a free society the government has any business in those areas, because it inevitably creates a quasi-official art, and that is wrong." With government out of the arts, Wolfe thinks that artists would do a better job of connecting themselves to the public. They would be forced to find an audience, and reach out to a larger segment of the population. Wolfe is aware how hard the artist's life can be. Publishing his journal is a constant financial struggle. But he thinks government aid brings far more trouble than it is worth.

With an increasingly mechanized culture, Wolfe thinks we are in danger of losing our imagination. The media and technology, he says, make it easier for the public to be passive and manipulated. And imagination is important not just in the world of art, but in all of society, according to Wolfe. "For all of this talk of competitiveness, you can't be competitive with anybody if you are a narrow-minded utilitarian cog in a wheel. It requires imagination for brilliant entrepreneurship, diplomacy, and creative solutions to human problems."

Wolfe connects the fact that the public no longer has to use its imagination very much with today's "real cleavage between reason and faith. Imagination, after all, is the human faculty that mediates between reason and faith. It's what opens people up."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Professor's New Life

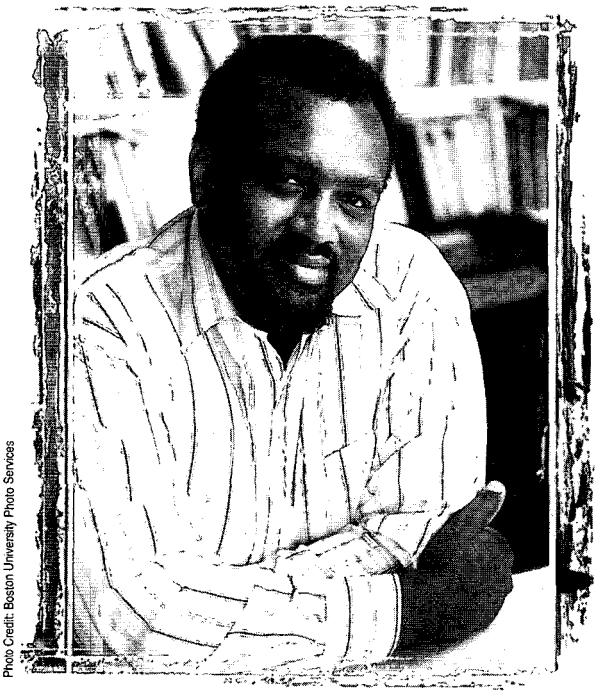


Photo Credit: Boston University Photo Services

by Glenn C. Loury

I once heard a sermon in which the preacher addressed the question of why anyone should believe in the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Perhaps the most compelling bits of evidence that Jesus Christ is Lord are the accounts of his presence in contemporary lives. It is one such account that I offer here. For the fact is, I have been born again. I was dead and now am alive, not due to my own recuperative powers, but because of the power of Christ to mend a broken life, to "restore the years the locusts have eaten."

Let me explain. Although a wonderful and beautiful woman loved me and had agreed to become my wife, I was unable to consummate with her the relationship that our marriage made possible. I was unwilling to be faithful to that relationship. I am not speaking now only of adultery. I refused to set aside enough of my selfishness to build a life with someone else. Marriage requires give and take, but I gave little. My pride and a self-centered outlook eliminated any chance for fruitful union.

I was dead in spirit, despite an abundance of professional success. I was a tenured professor at Harvard. I had reached the pinnacle of my profession. When I went to Washington, people in the halls of power knew my name. I had research grants. I had prestige. Nevertheless, I often found myself in the depths of depression, saying, "Life has no meaning." I would say this out loud with such regularity that my wife came to expect it of me.

This is not to say that I was suicidal or psychotic; I was not. But for me there was no real joy. My achievements gave me no sense of fulfillment. I thought of myself as living on the surface of things. Life seemed to be one chore or contest after another in which I hoped to score high, to win accolades, and to achieve financial gains. But there was no continuity, no coherence, no thread of meaning that gave these various achievements an ultimate significance.

I was a tenured professor at Harvard. I had reached the pinnacle of my profession. When I went to Washington, people in the halls of power knew my name. Yet I was dead in spirit.

I was dead because of my slavery to drugs and alcohol. This enslavement had been going on for many years without apparently impairing my ability to function. Don't envision some terribly ugly or desperate and sad existence, though it became, in due course, quite sad enough. Rather there was an ordinariness about this dependency.

Without some intervention, my marriage probably would not have survived. I have to wonder whether, without some intervention, my external honors would have been sufficient to forestall my increasing depression. Indeed, I have to wonder whether my involvement with drugs and alcohol would have ruined me physically, professionally, and mentally. What happened for me instead was that some friends came forward to offer the Gospel (in Greek, literally the "great news") of Jesus Christ. I found a way out, to salvation, in words like these:

> *I have come to save that which is lost…I came that you would have life, and have it more abundantly…I am the way, the truth and the life; no one comes to the Father but through me…She loves much because she has been forgiven much…When the Son sets you free, you shall be free indeed.*

One person, whose name I do not know, was especially important. I was a patient in a substance abuse program in a psychiatric hospital. Each Friday the program invited a representative of some religious order to speak with the patients about spiritual issues. On this particular day a young

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

woman came from a local church. After the formal session, during which I had voiced much skepticism about "organized religion" because of my disgust at corruption among church leaders I knew while growing up in Chicago, she approached me for further discussion. She was gentle but persistent when asking about my plans for the future.

She suggested that we read the 23rd Psalm together, which we did. Though I knew the psalm by heart, I had never considered its promises, nor thought of them as having been made specifically to me. This minister suggested to me that though I was quite literally walking "through the valley of the shadow of death," I need "fear no evil," for I did not walk alone. I can only say that I was startled by the implication of these words.

I was due to leave the hospital the next day. She urged that I come to church that weekend, Easter of 1988. Though I had not been inside a church more than a half dozen times in the preceding decade, I accepted. The service was beautiful. The sermon was about redemption.

I wept quietly for two hours, thinking of all that I had done for which I needed to be forgiven. At the time I did not acknowledge to anyone, not even myself, that I was being touched by the Spirit of God. I did not go to the altar for prayer; I did not join the church or confess Christ as my personal Savior. I fled from that sanctuary as quickly as possible when the service ended, not even thanking the young woman who had invited me. But the truth is that something happened, deep inside my heart, on that Easter Sunday morning.

In the months that followed, others asked me to come to church and to read the Bible. I followed some of this advice, though not especially enthusiastically. There was, however, a minister and friend who continued to visit me. He seemed genuinely concerned about me; he would politely but insistently ask questions about my life. Ray Hammond eventually persuaded me to come to a Bible study. I began to go regularly. After that I began to go to church services regularly as well.

There was not one moment when the skies opened up and something dramatic happened. There was not a particular instant when I can definitely say that I was reborn. Rather, over the months—as I began to study the Bible, as I went to church, as I learned to pray, as I began to reflect honestly on my life, as I began to open myself up to the Spirit of God to minister to me and move me—I came to realize that there was something dramatic missing in my life.

Moreover, I began to feel myself growing and changing. I began to be aware that there was something real to this Christian business. Perhaps my greatest step forward in spiritual growth occurred when I began to think about Christianity not simply as a collection of propositions to be examined, but rather as the actual means by which a transcendent God has chosen to reach out to humanity. In other words, I began to realize that this "Jesus business" is not just a set of ritualistic conventions, as I had imagined before.

As a prideful intellectual, I had been unwilling to accept statements of faith where I could not see the evidence. Then I began to understand that faith is the evidence of things unseen. As my resistance to acknowledging the reality of the spiritual began to erode, I at last made room within my heart for the message of the Gospel.

Things in my life began to change. A relationship with my wife that I thought dead miraculously healed and came to life. My absence of purpose gradually lifted. As I studied the Bible, the rich profundity of life began to open up to me. I began to see possibilities for joy and fulfillment much greater than I had ever imagined. I found myself seeing below the surface and finding a depth of meaning I had always dreamed of, but never believed to actually exist.

For example, I discovered the radical and life-changing truth that freedom is not the highest value. I learned that my constant personal quest to be free of any constraint had been the source of much of my unhappiness. Since childhood I had always thought I wanted to "do my own thing." Marriage seemed suffocating because it meant being obligated to consider the concerns of another. I did not want to have children because it would "tie me down." I resented the claims of family and friends if they inconvenienced me in any way. Yet, after becoming a Christian, I learned that the most powerful fulfillments can be achieved only when one is bound up in faithfully accountable relationships to others.

With my spiritual growth, the Lord began to bless my wife and me with a family. We had our first son in 1989, and three years later, another. Holding my sons in my arms, and experiencing the deep satisfaction of being the kind of father and husband that I know the Lord has called me to be, I realize that the whimsical passions and fanciful pursuits of my earlier life could never have produced true happiness. To paraphrase a currently popular rallying cry: No Jesus, No peace.

The death and vacancy of my previous life have been relieved by my encounter with Jesus Christ. There is hope now, and serenity. Things fit into place in a way they did not before. This is why Jesus came, lived and died, and was raised from the dead—so that men like me could have new life.

Along with these discoveries, I have developed a fresh appreciation for the joy of worship and praise, and an ability to share the Gospel that would have been unthinkable for me a few short years ago. I used to view ministering and witnessing as undertakings for "churchy" people, not me. They seemed embarrassing and irrational acts, primitive even. Emotionalism in worship grated against my intellectual style. Yet in due course, there I was, worshiping not just passively but openly. For after what the Lord had done for me I could not remain silent among a fellowship celebrating His glory. Through prayer, praise and worship, joyful song, and tearful testimony, my relationship with the Lord has deepened and matured. What is irrational about proclaiming His greatness, or telling the truth about His power in my life?

Today, my time is often not my own. And I have lost the taste for the sensual delicacies I used to savor. Nevertheless, I know joy beyond my wildest expectation. My days have such sweetness. Instead of "life has no meaning," my wife now overhears me muttering something new under my breath: "Thank you, Lord."

Glenn C. Loury is University Professor at Boston University, where he teaches economics. This essay is adapted from the epilogue to his new book, One by One from the Inside Out *(The Free Press).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rebirth of the Synagogue by the Sea

by Michael Medved

The Venice oceanfront in California is the last place on earth you'd expect to see a revival of traditional Judaism, but for more than 20 years it's been the site of one of the most energetic experiments in American orthodoxy. On any Saturday morning, this celebrated strip of sand boasts a floating beachside carnival of bikini-clad rollerskaters; street performers juggling chain saws; tattooed musicians playing for spare change; anarchist street orators; gawking tourists—and scores of skull-capped worshippers dressed in suits or long dresses, often leading well-scrubbed children, making their way to a restored synagogue facing the water.

Since its founding in 1977, the Pacific Jewish Center, or PJC, has drawn literally thousands of spiritually hungry Baby Boomers and others to its Bible classes and religious services, while building an acclaimed parochial school and permanently transforming its bohemian neighborhood at the far end of L.A.'s fashionable west side. More recently, this dynamic community has also experienced some serious setbacks. The challenges facing people who seek to renew religious practice in contemporary America, whether Jewish or Christian, are all reflected in the miraculous rise and current turmoil of the Pacific Jewish Center.

I can't pretend to be objective about these issues or about this story because I've played a prominent role at the PJC since I arrived in Venice Beach in 1975. I had graduated from Yale, done a year of Yale Law School, and worked for four years as a speechwriter for prominent liberal politicians. Now I was determined to make a living as a freelance writer, and with my first book contract in hand I rented an inexpensive house three blocks from the ocean. Almost immediately, I found myself entangled with the Venice neighborhood's Jewish past—and future.

During the 1920s and '30s the area briefly flourished as a center of Jewish population, a kind of miniature West Coast Miami Beach. In its heyday, the neighborhood boasted numerous kosher delis and butcher shops, more than a dozen Jewish "guest homes" and retirement hotels, and 11 different synagogues at one time or another. During the 1950s, these institutions began to close their doors as the area slid into seediness, and then the beatniks arrived. Hippies followed shortly thereafter, bringing drugs, grime, and crime, and leaving the dwindling population of elderly Jews feeling increasingly alienated and insecure.

I knew something about this situation before I even arrived in the area because my beloved eccentric uncle served as president of the Israel Levin Senior Adult Center on the Venice oceanfront. He'd been nagging me for years about moving to Venice to realize his grand dream of a "coalition" of Jewish kids and elderly to revitalize the neighborhood. I never took his scheme too seriously, but then just a few weeks before my scheduled move to the beach, my uncle died suddenly. I took this as a sign and said *kaddish* (memorial prayer) for him during the full 11 months of mourning at the only remaining daily *minyan* (prayer quorum) in Venice.

Only two among the regulars fell below the age of 75 (I was 26 at the time), but the earthy flavor of this fellowship, full of garlic, nostalgia, and irony, appealed to me powerfully. I had already begun my journey from "enlightened" agnosticism to more traditional Jewish belief and had made my first faltering steps in the direction of observing the Sabbath, the dietary laws, and daily prayer. I felt strengthened and nourished by these surrogate grandfathers, who not only helped my stumbling Hebrew, but showed me how to begin the day with a bite of herring and a quick shot of schnapps after morning prayers.

Before long, I felt so well-established in this environment that I began making attempts to persuade other young Jews to join me there. This effort coincided with the general rediscovery of the Venice area by bargain-hungry yuppies, so within a year we had assembled a tiny group in their twenties and thirties who saw the possibility of rebuilding our oddball corner of the world as a center of traditional Judaism. Of course, we needed a rabbi, and just then crossed paths with a charismatic figure who happened to be passing through Los Angeles.

Rabbi Daniel Lapin, at age 29, had already accomplished more than most people manage in a lifetime. Scion of a world-renowned rabbinic family from Lithuania by way of South Africa, he had taught physics, studied Talmud in England and Israel, made good money designing and building luxury yachts, ridden across the African continent on a motorcycle, secured his pilot's license, and recently founded an Orthodox high school outside San Francisco. The one thing he hadn't yet managed was marriage, and his parents wanted him to move to New York to find a suitable young lady.

Instead, we persuaded him to stay in Venice and to lead us in launching a new community that would appeal to the countless young Jews who had no serious connection with their own religious traditions. The primary means to that end would be classes in Torah, conducted in living rooms around the neighborhood. Under his spellbinding teaching, the biblical text offered much more than arcane bits of history from the ancient Near East. It emerged as a vibrant, timeless system of self-help capable of transforming even the most dysfunctional life—in Lapin's phrase, as "an owner's manual for planet Earth." Within a few months, his study circle had expanded

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

from 6 people to nearly 100, requiring strict limits on new participants (which, of course, only increased demand for admission).

We seized the popularity of the classes as an opportunity to establish our own synagogue. Among the boarded-up relics of Jewish life on the oceanfront only one synagogue remained—a dilapidated brick building that had been neglected for many years. The interior featured dark wood and primitive, lovingly painted murals that created the atmosphere of a small, long-ago sanctuary in Eastern Europe. Unfortunately, the bulk of the synagogue's members had either moved away or died, leaving a tiny handful in their 80s and 90s who tried to keep it going.

Rabbi Lapin approached the courageous survivors who ran the place and persuaded them to "take a chance on the young people." During the first Saturday morning that the two groups joined forces, some of the old-timers wept openly—taking the miraculous presence of the youthful new worshippers in their 20s as a sign of the imminence of the messiah.

From these auspicious beginnings the Pacific Jewish Center experienced spectacular growth, aided by an unusual organizational structure. The rabbi, for instance, insisted that he receive no salary of any kind—and no payment for weddings, bar mitzvahs, funerals, and so forth. Instead, he continued to make his living as a private businessman. Lapin wanted to maintain his independence and ability to make unpopular decisions without jeopardizing his livelihood. He also sought to strike a blow against a recent trend in Orthodoxy that viewed regular jobs as a sordid distraction from the study of holy texts. If the rabbi himself made a point of toiling in business, he reasoned, then few of his congregants would feel tempted to retreat from the larger world as they advanced in religious commitment.

Rabbi Lapin's generosity (as his business prospered he actually became one of the PJC's leading donors) made possible another innovation: we never charged membership dues or sold tickets for our High Holy Day services as many congregations do. One could become a member of Pacific Jewish Center in only one way—by participating regularly in our classes. We urged people to give according to the value they attached to our programs, and this led to far higher levels of support than most synagogues enjoy.

One reason our community thrived is because it offered a dramatic contrast to the lonely and aimless atmosphere that prevails in so much of the L.A. area.

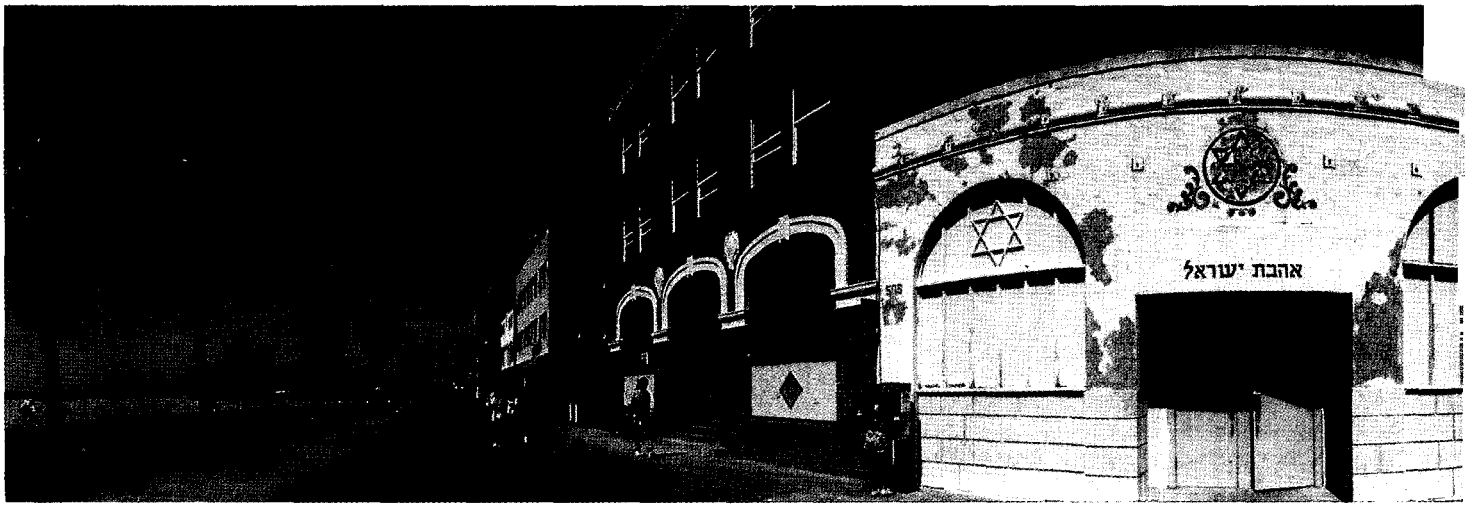
In addition to the classes that convened several times each week, the main building block of the new community was the traditional Sabbath meal. As a matter of policy, no stranger could stumble into our 250-seat synagogue on Friday night or Saturday morning without being invited to join a celebration in one of our homes, where home-baked *challah* (braided egg bread) and lavish meals would be served to groups of 8 to 25, along with explanations of the fundamental thinking behind the biblical Sabbath. Countless visitors received their first exposure to Jewish ritual through this hospitality.

They learned, for instance, that restrictions on the use of telephone, television, or automobile for 25 hours each week have nothing to do with a rejection of modern technology, but stem from the need to keep perspective on contemporary life and to stress the essential distinction between the urgent and the important. However urgent the phone calls and faxes and demands of career may be, the Sabbath reminds us, the voices of children, the company of friends, and the giving of thanks to God are far more important. For one day a week, observant Jews pull back from creative activity and smile over the magnificent handiwork of creation—just as the Creator did after the first six days. Like the Almighty, we consider the world—and see that it is good.

One reason our community thrived is because it offered a dramatic contrast to the lonely and aimless atmosphere that prevails in so much of the L.A. area. Since traditional Jewish law prohibits driving on the Sabbath, fully observant Jews live within walking distance of one another and their synagogue, and we actively encouraged the physical colonization of our neighborhood.

Michael Medved is co-host of the PBS show "Sneak Previews," chief film critic for the New York Post, *and author of seven books, including* Hollywood vs. America.

The Pacific Jewish Center in Venice, California.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We organized a cooperative purchase of six different apartment buildings on a nonprofit basis to install newcomers in the available units. Using the same strategy, the PJC purchased a local plant nursery and converted its grounds into 10 luxury homes on a cul-de-sac.

During these years of growth and self-confidence, the PJC not only transformed its neighborhood—lifting property values and establishing a visible Jewish presence—but also transformed the lives of its members. The community began with single people as its primary participants, but these individuals inevitably began pairing off. By 1986, Rabbi Lapin had presided over some 80 marriages. He also got married himself, to Susan Friedberg, a recent immigrant from Brooklyn who shared his passion for reconnecting lost Jews to their tradition. In short order, the Lapins produced seven children, leading the PJC's very own "baby boom."

Orthodox Jews frown upon birth control (and strictly prohibit abortion) unless the well-being of the mother is seriously threatened, so large families became the order of the day. One wag suggested that our organization should change its name to Prolific Jewish Center. The arrival of children created pressure for the first-ever Jewish parochial school in the Venice area. Our elementary school emphasized academic excellence that attracted non-religious children as well as the offspring of Orthodox families.

In the early '80s, that school received a significant boost from an unlikely source. In the course of my work as a Hollywood screenwriter I'd made contact with Barbra Streisand, who was intrigued that a seemingly modern individual should be so inconveniently committed to the ancient traditions of our people. Before long, I managed to introduce her to Rabbi Lapin, whom she promptly selected to prepare her son Jason for his bar mitzvah. The rabbi agreed, but only if Barbra herself attended the study sessions along with her son, and eventually the star celebrated the boy's religious initiation at our newly repaired and painted synagogue. Afterwards she repeatedly offered to pay Rabbi Lapin but he refused, suggesting instead that she endow the Jewish school we had launched. She graciously did so, establishing "The Emanuel Streisand School" in memory of her father, a one-time Hebrew teacher who had died before she was two. The school grew, eventually serving nearly 200 students and emphasizing all sorts of politically incorrect notions like respect for elders, classroom prayer, uniforms, and "TV-free" home environments. These approaches helped students at the Streisand School achieve some of the state's highest scores on standardized tests.

Barbra Streisand was intrigued that a seemingly modern individual should be so inconveniently committed to the ancient traditions of our people.

In the school, as well as our adult programs, we emphasized the traditional Jewish model of religious renewal and personal growth coming from the outside in, rather than the inside out. In contrast to the Christian ideal, in which a relationship with Christ alters the soul itself and ultimately leads to profound changes in behavior, the Jewish idea of *T'shuvah* ("return" or "repentance") *begins* with adjustments in conduct. The Biblical text explains that when God offered the Torah to the Jewish people, we responded *Na'aseh v'nishmah*—"we will follow its precepts—then we will comprehend it." In other words, a human choice to act properly inevitably turns the heart toward God.

Looking back today on our organization's achievements, it's impossible to escape a sense of nostalgia—and of loss. The PJC continues to draw enthusiastic support. But it has suffered a series of setbacks, and seen its membership cut nearly in half.

What caused these reverses? The most obvious explanation involves the departure of Rabbi Lapin. After 15 years of carrying an almost inhuman burden of teaching, fund-raising, and pastoral counseling, and at the same time struggling to earn a living through independent business enterprises, he felt burnt-out. As he explained to those begging him to stay, he had neglected his own family and his practical self-interest for far too long. After an emotional community-wide farewell, he moved to Seattle to organize "Toward Tradition," a national network of religious conservatives, Jewish and non-Jewish, devoted to applying Biblical principles to contemporary problems.

Copyright 1995, Harry Green–Santa Monica, CA.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Copyright 1995, Harry Green–Santa Monica, CA.

Rabbi Lapin teaching.

Meanwhile, the Pacific Jewish Center suffered the consequences of a disastrous choice as the rabbi's successor. Shortly before Lapin's unexpected departure we hired a young associate rabbi to help in the school, and he subsequently stepped into the primary position. A relatively recent convert to religious observance, our new leader displayed a poisonous combination of insecurity, combativeness, paranoia, and uncompromising zealotry. The community plunged into a series of increasingly bitter controversies over the new rabbi, who also differed from his predecessor in his financial relationship with the organization. In place of Rabbi Lapin's volunteer efforts he took more than $450,000 in salary, benefits, and termination settlement from the rapidly shrinking community in just three years. He finally left in January 1995.

Beyond this turbulence over rabbinic leadership, an inevitable aging process sapped some energy from the PJC. At the outset, the community flourished as a distinctive combination of elderly Jews and youthful idealists. By the late '80s the senior members had passed away, while the young singles had all become middle-aged family people with mortgage and tuition payments. Their own children naturally began to be a more pressing concern than the state of the world. Ultimately, all religious people face this painful conflict between a desire to share their faith with outsiders and a need to protect and nourish their own families.

After our troubling experiences of the last three years, the remaining members of the PJC are trying to strike a balance between the demands of sustaining our own families and serving the larger cause of Jewish renewal. The organization's new president is Jeff Gruen, a 33-year-old entrepreneur who began his journey toward Jewish observance nine years ago at the PJC, then married a brilliant editor of a magazine for religious Jewish women with whom he's raising four children. Under Jeff's leadership a contagious energy is returning to our organization, and we have hosted 50 visiting rabbis in our pulpit as we search carefully for our congregation's next full-time spiritual leader. We seek a serious and devoted individual who will avoid the insularity and narrow-minded legalism that have become increasingly common among contemporary Jewish Orthodoxy.

Despite the confusion that recently crippled our community, very few of our members or former members have abandoned the religious life they developed at the Pacific Jewish Center. Even those skeptical, disconnected souls who literally rollerskated into synagogue for their first visits, or spent years arguing in classes against the existence of God, now pray every day, keep the Sabbath, and send their children to Jewish parochial schools. PJC alumni play prominent roles in religious communities in Jerusalem, New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Toronto, Atlanta, and a dozen other cities across the country and around the world. Some of these people freely acknowledge their debt to the Venice synagogue that first drew them into religious life, but others disparage the PJC as a "transitional" operation they have happily left behind, deriding our organization as insufficiently rigorous—or conventional—in its Orthodox observance. Interestingly, nearly all those who've parted company with our community over doctrinal differences left us not because we're too religious, but because we're not religious enough.

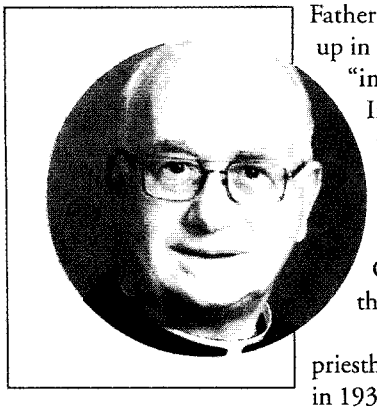
As our congregation battles to resume its prominent place in the national struggle for Jewish identity and survival, we face fundamental questions about why we invest so much energy and money in this endeavor. Many of us enjoy demanding careers that involve us on a daily basis with significant issues in American life. Why, then, should we expend hours of time and countless sleepless nights worrying over the fate of a small religious organization in a peculiar corner of California?

The answer is, of course, that such unprepossessing grassroots operations may ultimately matter more than all the sound and fury of intellectual combat or media debate. If one honestly believes in the significance of Edmund Burke's "little platoons," then enterprises like the Pacific Jewish Center deserve all the attention we lavish on them. After all, these demanding local endeavors do nothing less than remake America—one soul, one family, one neighborhood at a time.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religious Conservatives, Up Close II

James Flynn



Father James Patrick Flynn, 82, grew up in south Buffalo, where, he recalls, "in my nelghborhood you were Irish, you were Catholic, and you were a Democrat." He remains two of these things, for in his view "the Democrats have turned against the Catholic church," especially on the matter of abortion.

Father Flynn studied for the priesthood in Rome; he was ordained in 1936 and thereafter served as pastor to a variety of mostly rural parishes in western New York. In 1970 he was a founder of the Buffalo chapter of the conservative Confraternity of Catho1ic Clergy, which upholds "Catholic unity in doctrine, discipline, and liturgy." He is displeased with "the trend of the bishops to say nothing, to keep all sides happy." He sees "broken families, disease, and despair" ravaging the land, and he wants the church to act as a bulwark: "Someone has got to hold the line, and the only person in the world holding the line is John Paul II."

He regards himself as part of the religious right. "I'm 100 percent with that group," he says of the Christian Coalition, and while he believes that anti-Catholicism exists among "less-educated Protestants," he points to his capacious shelves and says, "Look, almost all the books are by Protestant evangelicals."

Father Flynn is a voracious reader; his favorite publications are *The Wanderer* and *First Things*. His fellow Catholic Pat Buchanan is his top choice as the 1996 GOP standard-bearer, though he adds, "I don't think he's going to get the nomination." He also speaks highly of Phil Gramm and Newt Gingrich. "I don't think much of Dole," he allows.

Father Flynn has recently moved into a retirement home, where he remains a prolific writer of sharp-edged editorials for *The Daily News* of Batavia, New York. He also serves as house editor for his letter-writing neighbors, and each autumn he rededicates himself to the magnificent passion of Irish-American Catholics of all political persuasions: Notre Dame football.

He has been ailing of late; his many friends in the coffee shops of Batavia wish him a speedy recovery. But Father Flynn is a congenital optimist. "Americans are on the right path to be able to heal the wounds of the underclass," he wrote in a recent and typically hopeful editorial. "For which we raise our hands to heaven in thanks."

Brenda Hunter

Brenda Hunter is worried about the next generation of Americans. As a psychologist and mother of two grown women, she worries that today's parents are raising children without consciences.

Hunter has relied on her faith during some difficult times in her life. Her father died when she was an infant, and her mother had trouble bonding with her children. Then, "I went through a messy divorce when I was 29, and my faith in the Lord was extremely important to me." Afterward, Hunter took her two young daughters to London, where they lived in the English branch of the famous L'Abri Fellowship, a kind of communal support and Christian study group. "We were just really concerned about each other's burdens, joys, sorrows. It was a healing community for me. A very safe place for me to put my life back together."

After two years in London, Hunter returned to the United States. Eventually, she remarried. She received her Ph.D. in psychology from Georgetown University, and started writing books and speaking publicly on family issues.

Hunter tries to combine the power of her faith with her skills as a counselor and writer. "Psychology only goes so far in terms of healing pain—it has very limited answers. I believe as a therapist that the Holy Spirit is the healer of personality."

Hunter's seven books have focused on family matters.

Her newest is entitled *The Wedding is a Family Affair*. "I am very concerned with what is happening with the American family, particularly the neglect of the inarticulate young. We are raising a bumper crop of violent and remorseless children."

Many Americans are confused about their gender roles, and Hunter blames feminism for much of this. She sees many young women in her practice who feel pressured into a career when they really want to be with their young children. "By teaching younger women that fulfillment is only to be found in the office and workplace, feminism has done an enormous disservice to society and families in general." Worst of all, it "has dealt a blow to motherhood in this country. It has made the mother at home a pariah, and I am very angry about that."

Hunter thinks that instead of focusing on careers and wealth, we should focus on the family. "I think that we give lip service in this country to our concern about children. I

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

think we are too intent on pursuing materialism and our own self-fulfillment. And if our culture is heartless with the young, eventually the young will grow up to be heartless with us."

Charlie and Ruth Jones

Charlie and Ruth Jones are Peculiar People. Peculiar People, a phrase from the Bible referring to people set apart, is the name of their acting troupe, which travels across the country performing extremely funny and touching Christian drama in churches.

Before setting off on their own, Charlie and Ruth were both part of a theater in California. "We left there and got married. I was selling chemicals for my dad's chemical company for a while. It was supernatural how bad I was as a chemical salesman. It was obvious that God was pushing us somewhere else," Charlie jokes. As they were wondering about their futures, a large church in Birmingham, Alabama asked them to write a play about Martin Luther for its twentieth anniversary. "It was during the process of writing that play that we decided to go for it," says Charlie. Now they write constantly and act out their own dramas on the road for three weeks out of every month. "We travel the nation presenting hope through theater," Charlie explains.

To keep their fans connected, they send out a newsletter to 10,000 people on their mailing list. The mailings, which advertise their touring schedule, raise funds, and make some serious points, are packed with goofy one-liners and spoofs on evangelical Christian foibles. ("For years, Peculiar People have been asked the same question in every town they visit: 'When are you leaving?' OK, but the second most common question is…..")

Charlie and Ruth's Christian belief is at the center of their art and lives. "My parents were missionaries in Kenya," says Ruth. "I was born and raised there. From real early on I believed that I could know God and that through Jesus he loved me." Charlie was raised in a non-religious household and went to church every two or three years. "I started going to church by myself when I was about twelve years old, though I didn't really understand what being a Christian was until high school."

"We feel the responsibility of the Christian artist is to interject hope into the culture," says Charlie. They do this with humor and drama. Some of their plays and skits confront despair and dark issues, but they try to communicate God's promise. In writing and performing, they always try to remember that the theater is not a pulpit. "You have to say it without saying it. I think that is where a lot of amateur drama goes wrong, especially a lot of Christian drama. They try to use drama as a pulpit and it is not a pulpit, it's an art form for communicating truth." Charlie and Ruth's style is to appeal to people's hearts. "Drama transcends both doctrinal and political lines because you are speaking to the heart. You are not speaking to change someone's mind," says Charlie. "We try to pick up on what God's whispering in your ear."

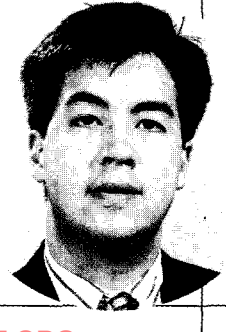
"Our main thrust is to picture for people in tangible ways what God's presence with us looks like," says Ruth. "His presence is characterized by His love, mercy, and His grace." says Ruth. One of their recent plays is about a woman whose husband had just died. She has to sell her home to pay the bills, and her son never visits. She feels despairing and bitter. But then Charlie explains, "We have her remember what is truly important in life. When you strip away everything else, what is it that keeps us going—isn't it our relationship with God?" Ruth is thinking about doing a sketch on HIV-positive Christians. "I would like to interject about Jesus touching and healing a leper. As a church sometimes we back away from people we are threatened by and yet Jesus went toward them."

Over the next three years, Charlie and Ruth hope to open a training center for Christians in the performing arts. They recently moved to a suburb of Nashville to begin the effort. "We are going to start off with local workshops and then expand to regional workshops. Eventually we'll start a theater here, and present a full-time curriculum that we can invite people to," says Charlie. The couple hope to give Christian artists professional theater experience. "We'll provide a place to apprentice. They will get real theater experience," says Ruth.

Both Charlie and Ruth consider the quality of their art to be vital to the communication of their message. This is one of reasons why they want to train more Christian artists. "I believe the greatest praise that we can give to God is doing high quality work. Doing good work with the talents he has given us is just as important as preaching the gospel or being a missionary or anything else," says Charlie.

The Joneses hope their training center will find a niche in the larger society. "Amidst the growth of Christian bookstores and Christian contemporary music and everything like that, we need to guard against setting up a separate society within our society. We need to be careful that we don't establish a dichotomy between Christian culture and 'normal' culture," suggests Charlie. A separate culture that is "for Christians, by Christians, to Christians, with Christians" should be avoided, he thinks.

(Peculiar People can be booked at 1-615-370-4700.)



David Kuo

At age 27, David Kuo has already established himself as an articulate voice in Republican politics. He is the senior policy director for Senator John Ashcroft of Missouri. On the side, he writes speeches for Bob Dole's presidential

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

campaign. He is working on a book with Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition. To top it all off, he is expecting his first child in October.

Kuo calls faith "the most animating factor in my life." He was raised in a Christian household but was not particularly committed. "Just because you live in a garage does not make you a car." It was not until high school and college that Kuo started to really think about his belief. "I began to explore the dynamics more, and to try to figure out what I thought was true. I did a lot of reading, talking, thinking, and a lot of praying. My relationship with Christ entered a different level."

As Kuo's faith deepened, his politics changed. "I was raised in a home where the basic belief was that if there was a problem, it was government's responsibility to take care of it." His first political activity was in high school as a volunteer in the Gary Hart presidential campaign. In college, he worked for Joseph Kennedy's first race for Congress in 1986, and then interned for Ted Kennedy in the summer of 1989. "As I grew spiritually, I began to apply that more to my whole world view. My take on the government's role and individual responsibility were reshaped by my faith, as well as a lot of reading of the founding documents of Western political thought." Kuo now believes that religious institutions have more power to influence and change people than laws and politicians. "It is the most transforming power."

Kuo is working a lot these days on the welfare issue. If welfare reform is to be successful, he thinks churches will have to step up to bat. "Over the past 50 years, churches have abdicated to the government their fundamental responsibility to care for the poor. That has to change."

Kuo admits there will be some dislocation with the cutbacks in federal programs. "But we should not judge reform against some utopia. We must judge reform against the horrors of the current system. It may be a little bit of an electric shock, but I think this will jump-start the churches." Kuo notes the dangers of using religion as a tool. "There is the risk that Christians in politics will view their faith as a means to an end." Yet he believes religious belief has an important role in public life, because "the problems we face are profoundly spiritual and moral." The politician who addresses these issues best, Kuo thinks, will be our next president.

If welfare reform is to be successful, he thinks churches will have to step up to bat. "Over the past 50 years, churches have abdicated to the government their fundamental responsibility to care for the poor. That has to change."

—David Kuo

Jackie Matthews

At age 42, Jackie Matthews has decided to become a foster parent. She recently attended her first class on foster parenthood and is a bit daunted—though not deterred—by the amount of time and effort caring for a foster child will take. "I must be out of my mind to do this," she proclaims, "but the need is so great."

Matthews balances a schedule that would leave most people exhausted. She is a separated African-American woman working full time as a business systems analyst in Maryland's Prince George's county. She is also working on her master's degree at the University of Maryland, putting her daughter through college, tutoring children, mentoring young girls, and delivering home-cooked meals and Bible services to residents of nursing homes.

She draws her strength and stamina from unfaltering Christian faith, which has guided her from an early age. Matthews acquired her sense of humanitarian obligation as a girl growing up in North Carolina. She is the daughter of two devout parents—her mother a Baptist, her father a member of the Faith AME church. Until she was compelled to choose between the two denominations as an adult, she attended both services on Sunday. From each, she derived an appreciation of the giving and caring qualities of Jesus Christ, which has inspired in her an acute desire to nurture children. "Today more than ever, children need protection and guidance." They are, she believes, defenseless from "exploitative institutions such as the media, which seem to have no self-discipline in limiting the amount of sexual material they show."

And so a year ago Matthews established a moral sanctuary for children—the Christian Community Girls Club. Although she is involved in many community activities through her Faith AME church, Jackie also wanted to create a program that is nondenominational, accommodating young girls from various religious backgrounds, or, as is often the case, who have almost no religious learning at all. "The club is designed to build character. Every day I teach Bible study, and then organize additional activities." Activities for the 15 girls who participate include attending University of Maryland basketball games, holding car washes to raise money, and canvassing the community with flyers for vacation Bible school.

Matthews is currently attempting to persuade members of other churches in Prince George's County to institute a one church/one child program, where each church volunteers members to care for a foster child. "I think the church should take the lead in solving our social problems; I really do. I don't think government should be involved."

When prompted about her views on government and politics she deflects the terms "liberal" and "conservative," and instead declares herself "right in the middle"—a position that, to Jackie, means having the flexibility to choose each policy and candidate on individual merits. A candidate's merits, she argues, should be assessed on the strength of his spiritual background. She seeks to determine whether a political candidate demonstrates a genuine devotion to religion and incorporates the teachings of the Bible into his decisions; because a person who is spiritually guided, she believes, will often act with strength and wisdom.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Trudy Plumpton

Trudy Plumpton does not equivocate about her faith. "Either you believe the Bible, all of it, or you don't believe it." The 44-year-old mother of two from upstate New York. was not always religious. "I was raised by two very secular, atheistic parents, and I converted at the age of 28." At that point, Plumpton felt that something was missing. "Our life was a mess and there was a lot of emptiness in it. We were searching to find a focus, so we started to go to church and got involved in a wonderful Bible study." From her experience in the Bible study, Plumpton decided to put her faith in God. "I strive to have a sanctified life, a life that attempts to adhere to Christ's teachings and the law of God. I say attempts, because I fall short every day."

> "Christians are supposed to go to work and leave all of their values at home and work under everyone else's rules. That's not very reasonable."
>
> —Trudy Plumpton

Plumpton believes almost all Americans have a religion, but it may not be the right one. "Everyone worships something or someone, whether it is money, work, health, themselves, pleasure, education, or God." But a true faith, Plumpton thinks, can help repair people's problems, and the problems of the country. She refers to something once said by her pastor: "God sets what is moral, the church proclaims it, and the civil government maintains it. Even though we can't legislate the morality of men's hearts, we can legislate the morality of behavior." Plumpton is encouraged by the election of more Christians to Congress. "It is not a matter of them imposing their religious beliefs on the nation, because everyone who goes into office brings along their religion, whatever it is. A Christian is obligated to work within the law of God."

According to Plumpton it is not easy for Christians to live in today's secular society. "Christians are supposed to go to work and leave all of their values at home and work under everyone else's rules. That's not very reasonable." Many times at meetings, Plumpton says, her opinions have been immediately discounted because of her religious perspective. "I feel it when I am on a committee—the idea is that you must keep your religious viewpoint to yourself." She also thinks that reporters use the term "religious right" to slander people with religious convictions. "I don't like that term. The media use it to highlight the most radical people."

Plumpton believes that American society is much more comfortable with secular humanists than Christians. She defines secular humanists as "people who don't acknowledge God, and believe that men can perfect themselves through their own efforts, achieving perfection and fixing everything without God. We see how well that is working, don't we?"

Marshall Wittmann

Marshall Wittmann surprises many people. Right now, the 42-year-old is a senior fellow at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank in Washington, D.C. Previous to that he worked as the chief lobbyist on Capitol Hill for the Christian Coalition. Which is interesting, because Wittmann is Jewish.

When asked "what's a nice Jewish boy like you doing in a place like this?" Wittmann explains that there is no discord between Judaism and conservative politics, or even between Judaism and Christian activism. "I certainly don't think there is a conflict. The two faiths share a God, a Bible, a common heritage, and many of the same perspectives on life." Wittmann has been drawn to work with Christian conservatives by agreement with their social and political positions, for instance on family issues. He is not alone, he says, pointing out that conservative Jews and evangelical Christians are uniting behind common causes more and more. "In New York City, for instance, there were very clear alliances between religious Christians and Jews over school board elections a couple of years ago. I see pockets of coalition developing around the country."

Asked whether he fears having Christian values forced on him, he says this is a misunderstanding of what religious conservatives are up to. "Religious conservatives are often said to want to impose their values upon others. But in reality, I find, what most are trying to do is simply to prevent the values of others from being imposed upon them." Their struggle is a defensive one to preserve their views in the face of aggressive efforts to drive all religious perspectives out of public life, he suggests. Wittmann cites the reaction in New York City against attempts to teach homosexual rights to kindergarten and other grade school children as an example of such a defensive backlash.

Photo Credit: Chas Geer

Wittmann is troubled by the stereotypes of religious people that regularly appear in the media. "Somehow it seems to be considered fair game to attack religious conservatives." He notes that religious leftists have been involved in politics for many years, in causes "ranging from civil rights to the anti-war movement, and it never seemed to be an issue with the mainstream media. But when religious conservatives became active more recently, there was lots of criticism." Wittmann thinks that the coverage of religious conservatives is improving, though not yet balanced. "In major part because of what politically happened in 1994, the media is being forced to take religious conservatives more seriously."

The movement uniting religious conservatives is broad and strong, Wittmann believes, and will be lasting. "It's probably the most dynamic political force in America today," he says. "That was brought home in the November elections."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Photo Credit: AP Photo/Indianapolis Star, Frank Espich

CHRISTIANITY GOES TO THE PLAYOFFS

IS SOMETHING STIRRING IN THE PROMISE KEEPERS MOVEMENT?

BY WILLIAM R. MATTOX, JR.

Nearly 30 years after *Time* magazine officially declared God dead, *The Economist* says that "something significant is stirring in America's spiritual life." The *Los Angeles Times* reports that "a wave of confession and repentance for past sins is sweeping Christianity," fueling talk of a "religious revival." *The Chronicle of Higher Education* says religious activity is thriving on college campuses. *Business Week* reports that interest in books with spiritual themes is growing so fast that major publishing houses like Simon & Schuster and Little, Brown sponsored booths at this year's convention of Christian booksellers. And social observer Irving Kristol writes in the *Wall Street Journal* that "after more than a century of militant secularism, hedonism, and materialism, all leading to a carnivalistic nihilism, a religious revival...is happening now."

Perhaps the most compelling evidence of a spiritual "awakening" in this country is the phenomenal success of a Christian men's movement called "Promise Keepers." For the uninitiated, Promise Keepers describes itself as "a Christ-centered ministry dedicated to uniting men through vital relationships to become godly influences in their world." For the last several years, PK has been hosting two-day men's conferences in major sports arenas around the country. These conferences begin on Friday and run all day Saturday. They meld two Sunday traditions—attending church and going to football games—into a unique blend of testosterone-charged activity that one attendee in Houston described as "the Super Bowl of Christianity."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Promise Keepers rallies feature everything from rousing hymns and fiery sermons to bouncing beach balls and the Wave cheer. The noise level at times can rival that of a Denver Broncos football game or a Rolling Stones concert (although the object of adulation is the Rock of Ages). And tickets to the event—at $55 a pop—are sought after as much as tickets to see the Dallas Cowboys play the Washington Redskins.

Indeed, conferences this year in Washington, Indianapolis, Atlanta, and Dallas sold out months in advance. Other gatherings at venues like the Los Angeles Coliseum and the Pontiac, Michigan, Silverdome drew crowds of more than 70,000 men.

That Promise Keepers combines the energy of a football game with the power of a church service is no accident. The movement was born in March 1990, when then-University of Colorado football coach Bill McCartney took a three-hour drive to Pueblo, Colorado, with his friend Dave Wardell, the state chairman of the Fellowship for Christian Athletes. In the course of their conversation, Wardell asked McCartney (whose Colorado team had just won the national championship in January) to describe his greatest unfulfilled dream in life. McCartney replied that he'd like to see Folsom Field, the stadium in Boulder where the University of Colorado plays its home games, filled to capacity with men honoring Jesus Christ and learning how to become "men of integrity."

"I HAD FILED FOR DIVORCE —IT WAS THAT BAD," REPORTS ALETHEA BICKELL OF WICHITA, KANSAS. "BUT SOMETHING DRAMATIC OCCURRED. I SENT A FROG TO PROMISE KEEPERS AND GOT BACK A PRINCE."

Later that year, 72 men began to pray and fast about the concept of thousands of men coming together for the purpose of Christian discipleship. The following year, more than 4,000 men gathered at the University of Colorado's basketball arena for the first PK conference. By 1993, PK conferees filled the university's 50,000-seat football stadium. From there, the movement spread to seven sites attracting nearly 300,000 men in 1994, and to 13 sites drawing more than 700,000 men in 1995.

McCartney is, in some respects, an unlikely leader of a Christian men's movement. While an extraordinary success on the football field, his record off the field includes some notable fumbles. Indeed, McCartney quit his coaching job at Colorado last November because he wanted to try and make amends for seriously neglecting his wife and family for too long. And during his tenure as head coach, two of his players fathered illegitimate children by one of McCartney's daughters.

Yet, McCartney's failures—and his willingness to own up to them—give him a certain authenticity with PK men who recognize that God has always found greater use for flawed, broken men whose hearts seek after Him than for sanctimonious do-gooders who lead seemingly perfect lives. Moreover, McCartney's salt-of-the-earth style and relentless passion for reconciling racial divisions in and outside the church strike a responsive chord with men of all colors.

"When I first heard about Promise Keepers, I pigeon-holed it in my mind with all the other mostly white, suburban, evangelical activities and organizations I hear about," said Dennis Dillon of Vacaville, California. "I basically ignored it."

But coaxed to attend the 1994 conference in Los Angeles, Dillon said afterwards, "I have never seen a white man speaking with such passion and force on racial prejudice and the need for the church to stand against it. McCartney spoke the words of my heart. He understands and won't back down."

Garland Brunoe, a Native American who lives on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in Oregon, drew similar conclusions after attending the Boulder conferences in 1992 and 1993. "When Bill McCartney spoke of the reconciliation that is needed and how the white man was going to have to pray for sensitivity to get into the pain of minorities, I knew in my spirit he has got God's guidance."

Still, it would be a mistake to think of Promise Keepers as the Bill McCartney Post-Season Show. While PK board member Peb Jackson says McCartney "lit the spark" that ignited the movement, Promise Keeper's game plan does not revolve largely around "Coach Mac." In fact, McCartney does not speak at some major conferences and he and other PK officials say they are determined to avoid "the cult of personality" that so often arises around prominent leaders of Christian ministries.

Instead, Promise Keepers continually seeks to focus the attention of its followers on Jesus Christ and His teachings, especially those Bible passages that speak to the duties and responsibilities of men. PK urges men to commit to keep seven promises (see sidebar, page 42), which are to this Christian men's movement what the 12 points of the Boy Scout Law are to millions of young males. These seven promises cover everything from serving God and family to supporting one's local minister and "influencing" the world. They are, according to David Blankenhorn of the Institute for American Values, a major part of what makes Promise Keepers so appealing.

"Men like concrete standards that challenge them to prove their masculinity," Blankenhorn observes. "One of the biggest reasons why Promise Keepers is easily the most important, the most interesting, and the fastest growing men's movement in America today is because it is the only movement arguing that standards for male behavior ought to be raised rather than lowered."

Another reason Promise Keepers inspires such deep devotion is that it serves to masculinize religious faith. McCartney re-

William R. Mattox, Jr. is vice-president for policy of the Family Research Council in Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

peatedly tells PK followers that "a man's man is a godly man." And Tom Berlin, a United Methodist minister who attended the 1995 conference in Washington, summed up the sentiments of many men when he said, "You don't come here and feel like you're losing your masculinity because of your faith."

PK gatherings are restricted to men because the ministry perceives men will be more responsive to a program tailored to meet male interests and needs. This doesn't mean everything that takes place appeals narrowly to male biases. But parts of the PK program clearly would not work well in a mixed gender setting. For example, long-time author and speaker Chuck Swindoll created quite a stir at the 1994 conference in Colorado when he roared onto stage riding a motorcycle. His souped-up message on maintaining "sexual purity" (Promise #3) argued that only a man of strength can resist the sexual temptations that are ever-present in America today.

Swindoll's sermon on sexual restraint and fidelity is but one example of how Promise Keepers challenges prevailing cultural assumptions about what it means to be a man in 1990s America. "A man's man is not a macho man," McCartney says. "He's vulnerable. He's humble. He's transparent. He makes mistakes."

Or as Barry Morrow puts it in a recent edition of Promise Keepers's bi-monthly magazine, a godly man is "strong enough to be weak; successful enough to fail; wise enough to say, 'I don't know'; compassionate enough to discipline; mature enough to be childlike; planned enough to be spontaneous; great enough to be anonymous; stable enough to cry; leading enough to serve."

Other articles in PK's *New Man* magazine caution men about lusting for power, encourage them to become vulnerable in their friendships with other men, and admonish them not to spend so much time with their electronic toys that their wives become "computer widows."

Nevertheless, Promise Keepers is often criticized by gender feminists, who seem to regard PK as a grown-up version of the "He-Man Womun Haters Club" that Spanky and his gang organized in *The Little Rascals*. A handful of picketers from the National Organization for Women and other groups frequently protest outside PK stadium events, stealing a sizeable portion of the media attention with clever signs and banners like "Smart Women Don't Buy Your Promises" and "Promise Keepers: Losers, Weepers."

According to NOW's Rosemary Dempsey, the gender feminists' chief gripe is that Promise Keepers promotes a "misogynistic message" that says "men must take back control of the family, be the head, the boss."

Promise Keepers clearly does call upon men to lead their families, but the leadership model it offers is not that of a domineering "Lord of the Manor." It is instead a model of "servant-leadership" patterned after the foot-washer from Galilee who said He came "not to be served, but to serve."

Perhaps this explains why a recent study by University of Kentucky sociologist Gary Hansen found that the men most apt to help their wives with household chores are orthodox Christians who believe the Bible is "God's word" and "the answer to all important human problems."

David Blankenhorn finds it curious that feminist groups object so strenuously to PK's mission. "The more I listen to Promise Keepers' message—that men should be faithful to their wives and involved in their children's lives and willing to express emotion and quick to admit mistakes—the more I hear the echoes of those frustrated housewives who gave 1960s feminism so much of its animating spirit," he says.

Bill McCartney

Photo Credit: Promise Keepers

Other observers draw similar conclusions. "If half a million white guys commit each year to work for racial harmony, to spend more time with their kids, to pray instead of striking out, to work on an imperfect marriage rather than seeking solace on Sunset Boulevard, who's worse off?" asks Kathleen Parker, a syndicated columnist with *The Orlando Sentinel*. "Maybe I'm missing something, but this sounds like progress to me."

The wives of many PK men agree. "Before he went to Promise Keepers, I had filed for divorce—it was that bad," reports Alethea Bickell of Wichita, Kansas. "But something dramatic occurred—I sent a frog (to Promise Keepers) and got back a prince."

In a letter to the *Washington Post* protesting its coverage of a PK rally her husband attended, Susan Ellis of Laurel, Maryland, says many people fail to understand the Bible's teaching on male leadership in the home. "Christian men are taught to respect their wives and to honor and cherish them," she writes. "That hardly provides husbands with carte blanche to boss their wives around. To the contrary, it is an enormous responsibility for which God holds them accountable."

Indeed, an article by Bill Bright in PK's *New Man* magazine argues that part of a man's leadership responsibility in the home is to be the first to seek peace when a marital conflict arises. "Perhaps you are thinking, 'But you don't know my wife. She's impossible! When she changes her attitude, I'll change mine!' " Bright writes. "Radical love, however, is aggressive. It takes the initiative. It follows God's precept of 'first love.' It reaches out in reconciliation."

This is hardly the only instance where the word "reconciliation" appears in PK literature. Indeed, in a certain sense, Promise Keepers is all about healing broken relationships. Its Friday night services include a time when those who are separated from God are encouraged to "come forward" and be reconciled with Him. Its Saturday program gives emphasis to the need for men to settle any differences with their own fathers. And PK's magazine recently ran an article offering men advice on how to ask their children for forgiveness.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SEVEN PROMISES OF A PROMISE KEEPER

1. A Promise Keeper is committed to honoring Jesus Christ through worship, prayer, and obedience to His Word, through the power of the Holy Spirit.
2. A Promise Keeper is committed to pursuing vital relationships with a few other men, understanding that he needs brothers to help him keep his promises.
3. A Promise Keeper is committed to practicing spiritual, moral, ethical, and sexual purity.
4. A Promise Keeper is committed to building strong marriages and families through love, protection, and biblical values.
5. A Promise Keeper is committed to supporting the mission of the church by honoring and praying for his pastor and by actively giving his time and resources.
6. A Promise Keeper is committed to reaching beyond racial and denominational barriers to demonstrate the power of biblical unity.
7. A Promise Keeper is committed to influencing his world, being obedient to the Great Commandment (Mark 12:30–31) and the Great Commission (Matthew 28:19–20).

Nowhere is the Promise Keeper emphasis on reconciliation more apparent than on the subject of race. Nearly half of PK's roster of headline speakers are black or Hispanic. Several songs at each rally are sung in Spanish. The ministry's board of directors is headed by an African American, and its record of hiring minorities is virtually unsurpassed among Christian ministries, according to *Christianity Today*.

Nevertheless, the audiences at PK rallies are disproportionately white. And even though diversity can be seen in the fact that, as *Newsweek* put it, "farmers in overalls, bikers with ponytails and black leather jackets, [and] businessmen in Bermuda shorts" all attend PK rallies, the low level of black participation is an area of ongoing concern for the Promise Keepers leadership.

Their concern is not about appearances. It is instead about relationships. As PK president Randy Phillips says, "If half the men in the stadiums at Promise Keeper events were of color, would that mean reconciliation has occurred? No. The key to reconciliation is building relationships."

Los Angeles journalist Rodolpho Carrasco believes such relationship-building could prove socially significant in days to come. "The next time a racially tinged civil disturbance occurs in our nations, there will be half a million white Christian guys who can pick up the phone and call their Latino or African-American brothers and say, 'Hey, what's going on? What can I do?' "

Many believe PK's persistent focus on healing racial divisions is already having an effect within the Christian community. Last year, at the urging of Jack Hayford, a prominent southern California minister who frequently speaks at PK rallies, the all-white leadership of the Pentecostal Fellowship of North America dismantled its organization and replaced it with an interracial body. Earlier this year, a joint task force of the National Association of Evangelicals and the National Black Evangelical Association began talks aimed at identifying "action steps" toward working together. At this summer's annual meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention, America's largest Protestant denomination issued a public apology for its historical support of slavery and racial segregation. And in July, a biracial delegation of Christian leaders from South Africa attended the PK conference in Minneapolis to get ideas for hosting a Promise Keeper event in their country.

Plans for a 1 million-man prayer and worship service in Washington have been postponed until 1997 to avoid any suggestion that Promise Keepers has a political agenda. (PK carefully avoids political activity and turns down all requests by politicians to address its conferences.)

PK will host some 20–30 conferences in the United States during 1996. One of these gatherings will be a special pastor's conference in Atlanta that is expected to attract 70,000 ministers. The focus on clergy reflects PK's belief that the local church ultimately holds the key to spiritual renewal in America. "Promise Keepers conferences are designed to be a catalyst," explains PK board member Peb Jackson. "If the spiritual vitality of the rallies is not carried over to local church programs and men's small groups, the long-term impact of Promise Keepers will be negligible."

Increasingly, men's ministries are taking root in local churches. Jackson cites, for example, a men's group at a church in Holland, Michigan, that had only 10–12 members before Promise Keepers, but now has nearly 200 participants.

McCartney & Co. hope such groups will continue to spread all across the country. Indeed, PK is working to identify "point men" in local congregations to spearhead men's ministries, including mentoring programs that reach out to fatherless kids.

Still, to hear PK leaders describe their work is to get the impression that they are riding a cosmic wave over which they have no apparent control. "We are seeing a great awakening, a huge hunger among men who want to learn to live successfully in today's world," says Phillips. "This is not about celebrities—you are seeing the Holy Spirit at work."

Ultimately, it is this transcendent quality that both explains Promise Keepers phenomenal success and renders it unexplainable. *New Man* editor Brian Peterson says many outside observers are confused by PK because they have a difficult time accepting the idea that "men are gathering because almighty God is drawing them." Indeed, their reaction brings to mind that old Buffalo Springfield song that begins, "There's something happening here, what it is ain't exactly clear."

Even Christian attendees often find it difficult to explain the Promise Keepers phenomenon in anything but supernatural terms. "To be honest, I don't particularly care for certain aspects of the program," confesses one veteran of several rallies. "But I keep coming back because I sense that the Spirit of God is present and moving at these meetings."

Evangelist Billy Graham believes a great "awakening" is taking root in America and throughout the world. He says 50 years from now, historians will look back upon this time as a period of great spiritual significance. Is God moving? Is America experiencing revival? For now, only God really knows.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Focusing on the Family
with James Dobson

Carol Greenhill is estranged from her grown homosexual son. James Dobson has eased her grief and gained her loyalty, she says, by reassuring the middle-aged Coloradan that "others have hurts in areas different than mine, but the pain is the same."

Jill Cooper, a 34-year-old public-school teacher, housewife, mother, and committed Lutheran in Grafton, Wisconsin, experienced the tug of Dobson's ideas from a copy of his book, *Dare to Discipline*—a Christmas present last year that gave her the courage to strengthen her approach to child-rearing.

Three years ago, David Gatewood followed a similar attraction here to the headquarters of Focus on the Family, Dobson's organization, when he left his job training therapists to become clinical supervisor of Focus's telephone-counseling department. "I was overwhelmed by the trust people have in this friend of theirs, Dr. Dobson—as if they'd known him all their lives," Gatewood says.

Such devotion has enabled the 59-year-old Christian child psychologist to shift some of the fault lines in U.S. social culture—and, increasingly, to create some shock waves in the nation's political arena as well. For while the ever-agitating Christian Coalition has become the public face of America's tens of millions of evangelical Christians, Dobson and Focus on the Family are the heart guiding many of these Christians as they act in their homes.

By stressing the importance of traditional family relationships and strong faith over more than two decades, Dobson has built Focus into one of the most revered service organizations in the country. Small contributions finance almost all of the organization's $100 million annual budget. And by providing timely, substantive, biblically based advice to its constituents, Focus has become a worldwide multimedia juggernaut that now employs 1,300 people.

"If you have credibility on topics that are as sensitive and important as what happens within families, those are credentials that no purely religious leader can match," says Republican strategist William Kristol. "Tens of thousands of Americans feel he's made their families better and their lives better, and that's a powerful thing."

Two powerful statistics underscore Kristol's point. First, Focus is contacted by phone and mail about 3 million times each year. The only other comparable organization that approaches that volume of personal communication is the White House. Second, in just the five-month period ending this August, more than 100,000 people from all over North America flocked to Focus's four-year-old, 47-acre campus in Colorado Springs to take the 45-minute public tour, even though Focus headquarters is basically just a nice office park.

by Dale D. Buss

James Dobson's career began in the late 1960s, when he was a child psychologist at the University of Southern California. The son of a traveling Nazarene evangelist, he became troubled by the crumbling of traditional methods of raising families. So in 1970 Dobson wrote *Dare to Discipline*, a beacon in what he saw as the child-rearing darkness created by the permissive ideas of Dr. Benjamin Spock and his disciples.

Dobson lectured PTAs and Sunday school classes while trying to maintain teaching and his clinical practice. But soon, interviews with Barbara Walters and others followed. And when Dobson became angry at the radical feminist agenda that dominated a 1976 global conference on women and family life, he left academia and established Focus on the Family in a two-room suite in Arcadia, California beginning with a syndicated radio show carried by 43 Christian stations.

Since then, Dobson—whose style is avuncular and folksy but morally authoritative—has prospered as a radio host, lecturer, and author. His half-hour daily program is heard weekdays on more than 2,300 stations in North America, by up to 5 million people each week, ranking him an estimated third on the U.S. airwaves behind Rush Limbaugh and Paul Harvey. Hundreds more stations in nearly 60 foreign countries, ranging from Russia to South Africa, also air his shows. More than 70 million people have seen his filmed lectures.

And Dobson has sold more than 8 million copies of his 14 books, which include *When God Doesn't Make Sense, Parenting Is Not for Cowards* and, most recently, *Life on the Edge*, which he aimed at Generation Xers. Dobson gets royalties from his books and films but takes no salary from Focus.

The continuing personal appeal of the sandy-haired native Texan, trim and imposing at six-foot-three, has brought in the resources that have allowed Focus on the Family to grow from a handful of staffers into a sprawling, multi-purpose agency. In 1991, the organization moved its headquarters from Southern California to Colorado Springs. That booming

Photo Credit: © Tony Stone Images/David Hanover

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Focus on the Family

GETS MORE MAIL AND PHONE CALLS THAN ANY COMPARABLE ORGANIZATION SAVE THE WHITE HOUSE.

city of more than 300,000 people located at the foot of Pike's Peak has become a stronghold of conservative Christian organizations and their employees and families. More than 60 church and "para-church" organizations are now based here, with dozens arriving just since 1989. In addition to Focus (the largest Christian employer), the Navigators, the Christian & Missionary Alliance denomination, and Cook Communications (1,100 employees) are based in Colorado Springs. Other groups ranging from Compassion International (staff: 130) to the Fellowship of Christian Cowboys (staff: five) are also present.

In recent years, Focus has created several additional radio programs. It now sends Dobson's monthly letter and a magazine to everyone on its 2.1 million-person active mailing list. It has created 10 different magazines aimed at niches such as teachers, physicians, and Christian activists. The latest is *Single Parent Family*. One devoted to elder care may be forthcoming.

Focus produces high-quality children's programming, such as its hugely popular *Adventures in Odyssey* radio serial and a new video series called *Last Chance Detectives*. Other video productions have straightforward, real-life messages, such as *Sex, Lies...and the Truth*, which proclaims the virtues of teenage sexual abstinence. These offerings aim right at the hearts of Focus's core supporters, who—its research shows—are predominantly evangelical, Catholic, and mainline Protestant women ages 30 to 49, married with two or more children, half with college or postgraduate degrees.

Most recently, under the direction of Dobson's cousin, former pastor H. B. London, Focus has been building entire new outreaches to pastors and to black families, and a large program of free basketball camps for low-income kids.

Dobson's radio show, however, remains the core of the ministry. There he addresses questions Scriptural and secular, relational concerns and social issues, in a personal melange that communicates high traditionalist ideals. This September, for instance, the show had broadcasts on fatherlessness, surviving breast cancer, living with messy people, "money matters for families," and "reaching emotional wholeness [through] God's healing power."

The radio show, in turn, generates most of the 10,000 pieces of mail and phone calls that Focus receives each day from the hurting, confused, and just plain curious. More than 250 trained correspondents and phone operators field each written or called-in query. Most are easily fulfilled with the more than 6,000 books, tapes and other items stocked in Focus's huge, computerized warehouse; about 10 percent require a more personal response. Focus's tally sheet of topics they're asked to address ranges from gambling addiction, toilet training, and eating disorders, to elder abuse, rape, and suicide.

One recent afternoon, the four-foot-long file of inquiries in need of immediate responses bulged with yellow-covered "urgent" requests, and long "emotional" letters color-coded in blue. "We've got lots of volume today," observes Frank Keller, the former public school administrator who directs Focus's correspondence department. "But our response time for all of them is still 3 to 10 days."

About 1 percent of all those who contact Focus discuss their problems with 1 of its 18 state-licensed counselors. After trying to defuse any immediate crisis, they refer callers to a network of more than 1,500 Focus-affiliated Christian counselors across the country. It is discouraging to Focus's battalions of call handlers that their Christian constituency seems to be plagued with the same problems as everyone else. "Statistically, there are as many divorces among 'Christians' as in secular society," says Willie Wooten, Focus's director of counseling.

Dobson says that the dizzying pace at which societal breakdown is eroding even the Christian family has pulled him reluctantly into politics in a much bigger way than ever before. Beginning in the mid-1980s, Dobson began to travel to Washington—to serve as a key member of Edwin Meese's anti-pornography commission, for example, and to informally advise presidents Bush and Reagan.

These days, James Dobson is quick to use his radio show to address urgent political issues. In mid-September, he used nearly an entire broadcast just to read one of the most strongly worded diatribes he had ever composed: a scathing criticism of the Beijing women's conference, which he saw as deeply hostile to traditional families, and U.S. participation in it. The next week, Dobson took three days of airtime to dissect a just-aired ABC News *Day One* profile that had painted Dobson as an ominous new presence on the American political scene.

Only $4 million of Focus's budget is dedicated to "public policy"—much of that to "community impact seminars" that it holds around the country. But Dobson's strong connection with his large following, and his alliance with well-connected outfits in Washington like the Family Research Council (a former Focus affiliate), give Focus on the Family political clout that can't be measured in dollars.

"He has the best combination of politics and family issues going on the religious right," says Matthew Freeman, research director of People for the American Way, the Washington-based liberal interest group that continually clashes with Focus and other conservative Christian organizations.

On issues ranging from home schooling to abortion to last year's lobbying-reform bill, Dobson and Focus have demonstrated "an ability probably as good as anybody's to generate calls into Congress in a hurry, because of his radio show," says Freeman. "When they talk about an issue and urge people to call in, it'll happen. Even the Christian Coalition can't get that kind of quick response."

Adds John Green, political scientist at the University of Akron and a long-time student of American religion: "A lot of people who are concerned about abortion and family values don't think of themselves as part of a political movement." Overt political leaders like Beverly LaHaye, president of Concerned Women for Amer-

Dale D. Buss, a former Wall Street Journal *reporter and* Milwaukee Journal *editor, operates Cornerstone Communications in Cedarburg, Wisconsin.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ica, or Ralph Reed, executive director of the Christian Coalition, "may turn them off. But then they listen to Dobson, and what he says may make them political."

Last November's strong showing at the polls by evangelical Christians has suddenly made Dobson a significant potential power broker in presidential politics. In recent months, he's been visited in his Colorado Springs office by GOP presidential candidates Pat Buchanan, Phil Gramm, Lamar Alexander, and Alan Keyes, and has been meeting regularly in Washington with Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich.

The candidates know that Dobson will refuse to endorse any one of them. But, as Dobson says, they want to understand his constituency. "And they believe that even a few words from Dr. Dobson will open or close hearts to a political message," says Chuck Donovan, a longtime Dobson ally and senior policy analyst for the Family Research Council. Tim Cain illustrates that truth. A Christian Coalition member in Little Rock, Arkansas Cain earlier this year gained inspiration from Dobson's replaying on his radio show of a Keyes speech in New Hampshire, and subsequently volunteered for the candidate's morality-focused campaign.

Dobson also has been sending a message to the candidates: Don't count on the support of evangelicals for a Republican "big tent" on social issues. "I think you should warn the Republican presidential hopefuls that it will be impossible to skirt the moral issues in 1996," Dobson wrote in March to Haley Barbour, head of the Republican National Committee. The candidates "will not be able to doubletalk, sidestep, obfuscate, and ignore the concerns that burn within our hearts—you have my word on that." He added: "Losing only 5 percent of [evangelical Christians] could prove fatal in 1996." Presidential candidates unresponsive to social issues could spur formation of a third party, Dobson warns.

Dobson isn't one to stay long in a comfort zone, and he is now expanding Focus's activities overseas, where he sees the same forces ripping families apart as in the United States. The organization already has substantial operations in Canada and Great Britain, and is setting up offices in South Africa and Australia. "Our biggest challenge isn't finding places where we'll be accepted but figuring out how we can possibly go everywhere," says Rich Simons, vice president of international operations for Focus. "The sinful nature of man is universal."

Circumstances also have convinced Dobson that it's time for Focus on the Family to move outside its cozy religious constituency. For one thing, secular culture in this country finally is coming around to many of the views about the traditional family that he has been pushing for 20 years. Now is an opportune time, Dobson says, for Focus to reach for a larger share of minds.

That's why Focus now has non-religious Dobson commentaries running on about 100 big secular radio stations like Detroit's WJR and New York City's WOR. About 500 small and medium-sized papers regularly run a Dobson column. And Focus is going into cyberspace via America Online.

Can Dobson and Focus really move into the secular arena when he has doubts even about alliances between evangelicals and Catholics? Could Focus's attention to the outside world dilute its service to—or alienate—Christians? Will Focus's Christian orientation play well in a broader culture that is often uncomfortable with the straight and narrow?

Freeman, of People for the American Way, doubts that Dobson's "sometimes-extreme rhetoric" will play well outside of the evangelical community. But the University of Akron's Green notes that "in the last couple of years, all kinds of people have come to realize that the family is under distress—people who wouldn't agree on the color of the sky. So there probably is a much bigger market out there for his message than there was before."

Dobson says he doesn't worry about such questions. "My goal isn't to preserve the institution known as Focus on the Family. All organizations have a shelf life, and when God is through with us, I assume He'll move on to some other organization. So I'm not trying to find the safest and most risk-free avenue for this ministry. Our job is to engage the culture on behalf of the family, and if that brings us criticism, then so be it."

"I never anticipated what's happened here," Dobson told a recent interviewer. "Never set out to do it, never planned it. Wish I could say I had. It has resulted from the blessing of the Lord, and has been as big a shock to me as to anyone else. I'm doing my best to stay with it."

Typical answers to questions posed by Focus on the Family Constituents to Dr. Dobson

Question: My teen daughter recently told me that she is two months pregnant. What should my attitude be toward her now?
Dobson: You cannot reverse the circumstances by being harsh and unloving at this point. Your daughter needs more understanding now than ever before, and you should give it to her if possible. Help her grope through this difficulty and avoid "I told you so" comments. She will face many important decisions in the next few months, and she will need cool, rational parents to assist in determining the best path to take. Remember, lasting love and affection often develop between people who have survived a crisis together.

Question: Most colleges and universities permit men and women to live in co-educational dormitories, often rooming side by side. Others allow unrestricted visiting hours by members of the opposite sex. Do you think this promotes more healthy attitudes toward sex?
Dobson: It certainly promotes more sex, and some people think that's healthy. The advocates of cohabitation try to tell us that young men and women can live together without doing what

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

comes naturally. The sex drive is one of the strongest forces in human nature, and Joe College is notoriously weak in suppressing it. I would prefer that supporters of co-educational dormitories admit that morality is not very important to them. If abstinence is something we value, then we should at least give it a wobbly-legged chance to survive. The sharing of collegiate halls and bathrooms hardly takes us in that direction.

Question: Do you think parents are now beginning to value discipline more? Is the day of permissiveness over?
Dobson: Parents who tried extreme permissiveness have seen its failure, for the most part. Unfortunately, those parents will soon be grandparents, and the world will profit little from their experience. What worries me most is the kind of discipline that will be exercised by the generation now reaching young adulthood. Many of these new parents have never seen good discipline exercised. They have had no model. It will be interesting to see what develops from this blind date between mom and baby.

Question: What advice would you give parents who are worried their spankings may be crossing the line into child abuse?
Dobson: My advice is, don't lay a hand on the child. Anyone who has ever abused a child, or has ever felt themselves losing control during a spanking, should not expose the child or themselves to that tragedy. Anyone who has had a violent temper that at times becomes unmanageable should not use that approach. But that's the minority of parents, and I think we should not eliminate a biblically sanctioned approach to raising children because it is abused in some cases.

Question: Do you think religion should be taught in schools?
Dobson: Not as a particular doctrine or dogma. The right of parents to select their child's religious orientation must be protected, and no teacher or administrator should be allowed to contradict what the child has been taught at home. On the other hand, the vast majority of Americans do profess a belief in God, and I would like to see this unnamed God acknowledged in the classroom. The Supreme Court decision banning non-specific school prayer (or even silent prayer) is an extreme measure, and I regret it. The tiny minority of children from atheistic homes could easily be protected by the school during prayerful moments.

Question: What is your position on civil disobedience in the prevention of abortions?
Dobson: After World War II, German citizens living around Nazi extermination camps were required to visit the facilities to witness the atrocities they had permitted to occur. Though it was technically "legal" to kill Jews and other political prisoners, the citizens were blamed for not breaking the law in deference to a higher moral code. This is the way we feel about the slaughter of 25 million unborn children. We are a law-abiding people and do not advocate violence or obscene or disrespectful behavior, but, to be sure, we will follow that higher moral code nonviolently to rescue innocent, defenseless babies. And some day the moral issues involved here will be as clear to the world as the Nazi holocaust.

AT INTERVIEW WITH JAMES DOBSON

—*Colorado Springs*

TAE: How do you balance the hope and encouragement you try to provide through your organization with the role of cultural and public policy critic that you sometimes have to adopt in the public arena?
Dobson: Honestly, I don't see those as contradictory. I see our primary responsibility as defending families—individually and as an institution—against whatever threats impinge on them. That may mean putting an arm around hurting people, or having a counselor call on someone's family that's falling apart. And it may mean taking on the Senate if they're about to do something that will hurt families corporately. It's all part of the same picture. That's why I don't see what we do in the area of public policy as being political in nature. It's not a segmented portion of our work that has as its objective the gaining of power or the influencing of government. Instead, it's all part of a whole, which is to care for the family and individuals who are in families.

TAE: Seven years ago, when I met with you, you were concerned about having too high a profile. You didn't want to be available for people to take shots at because that would hurt the ministry. How has your thinking evolved on that?
Dobson: It's totally changed. Our strategy at that time was to do as much good for families as we could without allowing the searchlight of the media to catch us in its sweep. We followed that strategy until 1992, and then made a conscious decision to just do what we felt was needed.

TAE: Why did you make that decision?
Dobson: Because I were becoming no visib a y. And

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it was more difficult to be a quiet organization. So we just decided, let's go ahead and enter that arena and take the positions we have to take and let the chips fall where they will.

TAE: And how have you felt about where the chips have fallen?
Dobson: The amazing thing is that we're treated very fairly by the press. I rarely ever feel that I've just really been mauled by the secular media. We have in the last few months had articles done on us by *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Times*, the *Kansas City Star*, the *Dallas Morning News*, NBC, and CBS, and I have no complaints. Now, they don't always get it right, and sometimes they are antagonistic, but I really feel that we've been treated pretty fairly.

"When the presidential candidates come to me, I emphasize that it's not enough for a conservative politician to talk about economic issues and taxes and the streamlining of government. Because that's not primarily where people's hearts are."

TAE: You've got the Republican presidential candidates coming to you. What is it that they want, and can you give it to any one of them?
Dobson: The reason they come here is because exit polling from November showed that 43 percent of the Republican vote came from people who identified themselves as evengelicals, and the majority call themselves pro-life. So it's obvious that we represent a huge number of people who are very concerned at this time about what they see happening. They're primarily worried about their own families. They see what pressures are on their kids. They worry about what Hollywood is going to tell their teenagers, and about what schools are going to say about safe-sex and condom distribution. They're worried about Beavis and Butthead and rock music, and they're also worried about what they see as anti-family influences in Washington. Now these are not people who typically write letters or make phone calls to their representatives. But they are out there by the millions, and they came to the polls in November in record numbers. So when the Republican presidential candidates come here to Focus on the Family, for the most part they are asking not for my endorsement, because they know I won't grant that. They're asking for advice about that constituency, and what those people are expecting and desiring from their politicians.

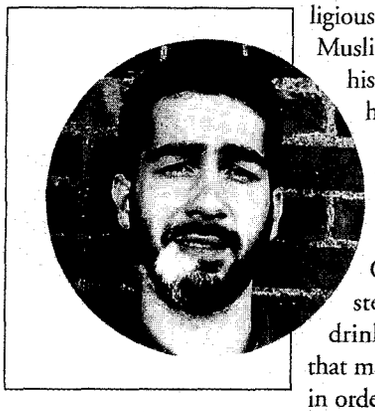
TAE: And what do you tell them?
Dobson: I talk about the moral issues that are paramount in the minds of the people we serve. I try to emphasize to them that it is not enough for a conservative politician, whether he's Republican or Democrat, to talk about economic issues and taxation and the streamlining of government, because that's not primarily where people's hearts are. I wish that were understood better by the people who are running for president at this time. Haley Barbour, the chairman of the Republican National Committee, has openly expressed a desire to avoid taking positions on moral issues he deems controversial. He wants to narrow the conversation down to issues concerning money. He distributed half a million of copies of a 32-page color magazine last month which described the heart of the Republican party; there was not one single word in that magazine about values, or about families, or about abortion or homosexual rights, or anything that this large constituency cares about. Newt Gingrich just sent a letter to who knows how many millions of people, a general Republican letter, where none of those issues were discussed. What I attempt to say to those politicians when they come here is: "You're being watched much more closely than you think you are, and you will not be permitted to waffle on those issues. If you do, I believe there'll be a third party in 1996—which won't win, but neither will you."

TAE: Did Senator Dole show he'd gotten the message via his comments about Hollywood decay?
Dobson: I spent three hours with him recently. I thought I was going to spend 15 minutes, but I spent three hours talking about these issues, and I have an appointment to meet with him again soon. I don't believe he understands that passion; I don't believe he comprehends the vast number of people who would identify with this description that I've given. I think he felt that it was enough to make some comments about Hollywood, which have no action plan associated with them, and then he's met his obligations to conservative Christians. That isn't going to get it done. You never hear him talk strongly about abortion, or funding for Planned Parenthood, or a religious liberties amendment, or any of the other issues that those folks call about and talk about. He hopes to avoid those issues. In fact, I could not get him to say that he would not select a pro-abortion running mate, and I've attempted in the strongest possible terms to tell him that I believe it'll be political suicide for him if he does. It's very frustrating. President Bush got a 17-point positive bump in opinion polls from the 1992 Republican convention. Yet immediately after that convention the media began reinterpreting what happened there, and blamed it all on Pat Buchanan and Bill Bennett and the pro-family movement that was represented there. It was all manufactured out of thin air. Then when George Bush lost, they said it was because of this emphasis at the convention. In truth, George Bush lost because he broke the only promise anybody could remember he had ever made. If the Republicans are stupid enough to walk away from those basic moral values they have stood for consistently, such as the issue of abortion in the platform, which has been there since 1976, they will deal away the political power that has been loaned to them by the American people.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religious Conservatives, Up Close III

Caneri Dagli



Caneri Dagli thinks it is very hard for a young man to be religious during college. Dagli, an observant Muslim, was tempted and tested during his first year at Cornell University, but he maintained his faith.

"Although many students are believers," Dagli says, "at most colleges there is an almost complete lack of acknowledgment of God in common conversation." Instead, there is heavy emphasis on drinking, drugs, and sex. Dagli thinks that many college students drink so much in order to escape reality. "Drinking completely makes you forget about who made you and where you're going. It is a complete escape into this world of fantasy which is utterly destructive."

When Dagli first arrived at Cornell, he was taken by the whole social scene. He almost joined a fraternity, and he says he had a very high opinion of himself. "I still loved my religion, still believed in God. But I was not humble by any stretch of the imagination. I was known to say 'a little arrogance keeps you going,' which is just completely foolish." A couple years of maturity and experience changed Dagli's perspective. "I am light years away from perfect, but I am a little better now." Currently in his senior year, he is more focused than ever on his religion. "I pray five times a day—sometimes I have to leave a class, or be late, or skip lunch to be able to do my prayer."

Dagli's religion has given him a different view of morality than many of his peers. Most men of his age view women as sex objects, he says. "I am really disgusted by how women are treated, seen as objects. Even these intelligent women who got into this great university are still viewed like two legs and other body parts." Dagli tries to respect women, and part of this respect is waiting until marriage to have sex. "My religion is dogmatic—no premarital sex. If you are not ready to commit your life to a person, but are ready to use this person for your own pleasure, deep down you are exploiting them and degrading yourself."

Dagli sees hypocrisy in many Americans who are upset by the high rate of unwed motherhood and abortion. "They want their orgasms without taking any responsibility. People say, 'it's okay for teenagers to have sex,' but once one of them gets pregnant it is like they did something wrong. There is nothing wrong with a girl getting pregnant, what's wrong is what she was doing in the first place." He continues, "I happen to think abortion is wrong because you shouldn't destroy something which is a miracle every time it is created."

As for the media's depiction of his religion, Dagli says, "I don't see how it could be worse." The only time Muslims are portrayed in reporting is when they are accused of terrorist acts. "That is the only thing people know about Muslims." He also thinks that the media are hostile to other religions. "When do priests make the news? When they abuse children. When do Protestant ministers make the news? When they are running some scam. And these two rabbis just made the news for sexually molesting a woman on an airplane. The press is just waiting for a chance to discredit organized religion."

Dagli doesn't want religion to be an official basis of government policy. "I think it is wrong for a politician to say that we should do this simply because the Bible says so." At the same time, "I have no problem with a hefty injection of morals into politics, which I imagine the Christian conservatives could bring. To me, someone who is thinking about God and making a decision is better than someone who is not thinking about God and making a decision."

Dagli continues to work on his faith, knowing his religion stresses forgiveness and fresh chances. "If you do something bad, stop and acknowledge your sin and say I am sorry, I did not mean to do this, you will always be forgiven. It is not like God is out to get you. He is rooting for you."

Jeff Kemp

When Jeff Kemp graduated from Dartmouth, he seemed to be living the archetypal male fantasy. Not only had he been drafted by the National Football League to play pro football as a quarterback, he was surrounded by a loving family, numerous friends, and admiring women. Yet Kemp felt that he was missing something. "At graduation I had reached a pinnacle in terms of social, athletic, and academic success. I had the chance to have all the fun that I wanted: attention, girlfriends, and fraternity friends, but I felt empty and adrift. Out of sync with God's purpose." After attending graduation parties, Kemp would lie in bed thinking. Suddenly a Bible verse he had memorized as a child came into his mind. "It spoke to the fact that we don't love God just by having His good will worked in our lives. We also need to be called to His purposes. I realized that I had labeled myself a Christian but was definitely living with a selfish purpose. I had overlooked the importance of my relationship with God, and it was not satisfying."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kemp took his new faith into pro football, where he played as a quarterback for the Los Angeles Rams, Philadelphia Eagles, Seattle Seahawks, and San Francisco 49ers. He developed a reputation as a Christian. "There was a degree of isolation relative to the guys going out drinking. I had taken a stand for leadership reasons. I wanted to be a role model. I did not drink, my language was different. They knew my family, my marriage, and my faith in Christ took precedence over partying or going out." Although his faith may have set him apart, it also connected him with some of his teammates. "I sought out and enjoyed friendships with guys across the spectrum. In many cases, having a spiritual focus and being known as a Christian opened up good doors to talk with guys."

Now retired from football, Kemp is the executive director of the nonprofit Washington Family Council. "Our mission is to equip and encourage citizens in Washington state to build communities where families are valued and nurtured. We stress the importance to a civilization of the first institution that teaches relationships, and that is the family."

One cause that Kemp feels particularly strongly about is fatherhood. "There has been a cultural devaluation and disincentive toward men being responsible to their children and committed to honoring women in marriage. I tie the marriage thing in because that is really at the root of fatherlessness."

Kemp is a registered Republican, and many of his political sentiments are similar to those of his father, Jack Kemp. "I have a strong rooting in conservative principles but I feel that they need to be applied in a progressive way." Although he is encouraged by the Republican win in last November, he is also concerned. "I hope we don't fall into the trap of believing that changing government changes America, and that political laws can do more than they actually can." He also fears that the weak will be lost in a Republican rush to represent more powerful and wealthy constituencies.

Kemp believes churches can be a powerful tool in reconciling the races, although services are frequently divided now along race lines. In the church, with "the unconditional love of Christ," blacks and whites have a special chance to establish forgiveness and peace.

"I have been involved very heavily in public school reform in our area for five years, and I see the pernicious effect where people cannot agree even on something simple like the idea that homework is good for children."

—Ann Macfarlane

Ann Macfarlane

As a Foreign Service officer, Ann G. Macfarlane lived all over the world. She had assignments in Zaire, Tanzania, and Nepal, and she spoke French, Swahili, and Nepali. Earlier she had studied Russian language and literature in England as a Marshall Scholar. Eventually, she left the Foreign Service, and now she runs a Russian translation service in Seattle. And to every corner of the world where she has journeyed, Macfarlane has brought her devout faith.

Macfarlane was born into a Roman Catholic family. "Catholicism had been important to my parents. I struggled during my teenage years, but I eventually felt I could give both kinds of assent to it, emotional and intellectual." During her 20's, Macfarlane's faith deepened and became more comprehensive. She worked with a man with a spiritual and psychological background who helped her understand her belief. "There were areas of my life that were unconverted, where I lived and felt and acted as if I did not believe what I believed in my head. Through that work I was able to bring those areas into my religious faith. For instance, I was somebody who tended to ignore very much the physical side of things. I felt that taking time out to exercise or do things with my body was a waste of time or self-indulgent. Eventually, I saw that we are whole. If you are Christian you believe that God made us as body and spirit together. You can't neglect one for the other." The discovery had "extensions in other areas. I stopped living so much in my head. And since this was all happening when I was falling madly in love with my husband, it felt very nice."

Macfarlane believes that many problems in American society today are traceable to a lack of high standards. "I think that people have a sense that we really are losing our bearings, losing our appreciation of what is normal, standard, and proper. I have been involved very heavily in public school reform in our area for five years, and I see the pernicious effect where people cannot agree even on something simple like the idea that homework is good for children. Our wish to be kind and tolerant has led to accepting deviant behavior that is in fact doing great harm to families and society, which we have no way of checking because we have given up the idea that there is a norm we can all agree on."

Macfarlane works hard to instill her faith in her children—through lots of reading, energetic celebration of saint's days and the church calendar, and plenty of discussion. "I believe it is important to have a personal relationship with God, and with Jesus Christ. And that needs to be developed by prayer and study and Bible reading. And then that has to be lived in how we treat others and how we use our energies in life. I would like to see my children being compassionate and understanding of others, and I would like to see them concerned with more than just their own immediate success and personal wants."

Macfarlane's faith gives her a strong sense of community with other Catholics, as well as with persons of other religions who take belief seriously. "The fact that they believe in God gives me common ground with them in a way I don't have with people who think that it is all not very important or out of date."

Macfarlane thinks that many Americans are searching for some meaning in their lives. She notes this in the rise of Christian bookstores as well as New Age ones. "I think that people are desperate for meaning, really, really hungry to have a sense that their life consists of more than spending as much money on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CDs and VCRs as possible. So they are looking in every direction. And I am encouraged, obviously, when they turn to Christianity, because that is where I have made my home, and I hope that others will too."

Photo Credit: Noah M. Sackrison

Lisa and Russ Qualls

Lisa and Russ Qualls are not the typical young academic family. With a Ph.D from Cornell University, Russ is now a professor of civil engineering at the University of Colorado. But the Qualls' political and religious convictions distinguish them from many in liberal academia. Both are orthodox Christians who believe the Bible literally.

Lisa was raised in Seattle, the daughter of a superintendent of schools, and has found her own way to her religious views. "I grew up in the Catholic church. I went through a really hard time in my early teens and ended up in a serious crisis. I was headed in all the wrong directions, and I then had a real conversion experience of accepting Christ and making my relationship with him personal, just committing my life to him." Lisa started attending an Assembly of God church where she met Russ.

The Qualls, who have never been committed to a particular denomination, are pleased with their current church in Colorado. "What we were looking for was a congregation that emphasized family, where parenting and raising children were taken very seriously," says Russ. "We were looking for a community," says Lisa.

"I was 15 when I made my initial commitment to Christ, and I've never wavered from that," says Lisa. "It's been solid." But there have been low points for both the Qualls in the practice of their faith—for instance during their college years at Seattle Pacific University. "We went to a Christian liberal arts university that was Liberal with a capital L. It was a great school in a lot of ways, but after taking some religion and philosophy classes I came out feeling like it was impossible for the average person to just read the Bible, that I didn't have enough information to interpret it and understand it," says Lisa. "I was just very discouraged."

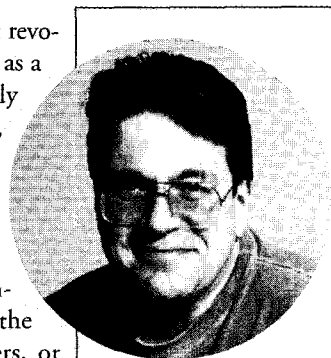
Russ agrees. "I grew up in a family that took Christianity very seriously. I don't remember exact dates, but I really appropriated Christianity for myself when I was quite young, and all the time when I was growing I continued to take it seriously," he says. But during college he, like Lisa, experienced doubt about his relationship with God. "I was a religion major, and when I finished I really felt like having a relationship with God was just tremendously complicated." Lisa and Russ gradually reestablished their connection with God. "It took a long time to recover from that, to get back to the basics to feel like I could read the Bible, and pray, and that God truly loves me, and that I have a relationship with him," says Lisa.

As their religious beliefs evolved, so did their political beliefs. "We have been slowly becoming more conservative," says Lisa. The couple was once pro-choice. But one night they had a change of heart. While working at a home for disturbed boys, they were watching television coverage of the Reagan-Mondale presidential race. One of the big issues was abortion, and one of the boys asked what an abortion was. "Prior to that point, as a result of our college years, we really subscribed to the idea that to make abortion illegal was an oppression of poor women. But in the process of describing an abortion to an 11-year-old child we began to realize that to promote abortion—regardless of who the woman is—is to kill a child. That was my last day of being pro-choice."

The five Qualls children range in age from eight years to seven months, and because of their religious beliefs, Lisa and Russ decided to homeschool them. "The number one reason is that we want our children to grow up in a way that honors God, pleases God—and we think that is more easily done when they are taught at home," says Lisa. They believe homeschooling can also give their children a stronger connection to parents and siblings, and a superior education. The homeschooling movement seems to be growing, Lisa notices, based on a dramatic increase in magazines, catalogs, seminars, and conferences available on the subject.

"I encourage the older girls to read the Bible before they read anything else in the day—and I try to abide by that myself. We pray as a family. We are working on all sorts of disciplines that we are growing into as a family," Lisa reports. The Qualls teach their children to act in a Christ-like way, to reach out to their neighbors. "We can shovel our neighbor's sidewalk, bake them bread. When one of our neighbors had surgery we made a meal and took it to them. Those are the things that the children can do and learn from. We try to do ministry as a family."

Michael Rozek



Michael Rozek, 41, is a quiet revolutionary. During years spent as a freelance writer he routinely had his stories chopped, sliced, and rewritten by editors. Finally, Rozek had had enough, and vowed to start his own publication where he could tell stories his way, without having to worry about the dictates of editors, publishers, or marketing people.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

So in 1992 *Rozek's* began publication. Each issue is built around a profile Rozek has conducted with some interesting subject—the owner of a ghost town in New Mexico, or a master chef from Seattle. In every profile, Rozek lets his subjects do most of the talking. "I try to keep my opinions out of the story," he writes. "I avoid writing about the 'anointed class'—the usual 'experts' and celebrities of the moment. Instead, my subjects are simply people worth knowing."

"Conservatives spend too much time blasting the cultural opposition," he says, "instead of trying to offer something better."

—Michael Rozek

But just because Rozek keeps his opinions out of his writing doesn't mean he lacks opinions. Behind the self-effacing prose is a dedicated Christian. When Rozek sits down in his home office every day, there's an open Bible at his side. And in the colophon of *Rozek's* is a citation of Romans 14:11-12—"It is written 'As surely as I live,' says the Lord, 'every knee will bow before me, every tongue will confess to God.' So then, each of us will give an account of himself to God."

Rozek was raised as a Catholic, but says that "I was never exposed to the Bible in the Catholic Church." In 1980, Rozek underwent a spiritual crisis following the loss of his father. An only child, Rozek says that his father's death was "completely devastating to me." Rozek spent the Christmas holidays in his New York City apartment, watching *It's a Wonderful Life*, when he was struck with a desire to know God. "I said, 'God, please help me.' I said that with every cell of my body."

A month later, Rozek found himself in the Los Angeles suburbs visiting a couple he had known for some time. The wife in this couple was a Christian, and Rozek one day told her, "Linda, I want to be a Christian." She took him to her church, and after telling the pastor of his desire to know Jesus, Rozek "got into the water, just like that," and was baptized at age 29.

Though Rozek met his wife in the Church of Christ, he left the denomination shortly afterward because he felt it "lacked love." Right now, Rozek isn't affiliated with any denomination, and doesn't go to church. "It's just me and God," Rozek says, adding that he reads the Bible every day and tries to practice Jesus's teachings.

Rozek used to be an avid conservative, and still calls himself "pro-life, pro-free market, patriotic, pro-national defense, pro-gun, anti-PC, anti-welfare state." But he's found that most of his 3,500 subscribers are liberals, who he finds are more interested in a non-political, well-written publication than many conservatives are. Rozek finds it frustrating that conservatives denounce Hollywood-style drivel but are unwilling to support ventures such as his. "Conservatives spend too much time blasting the cultural opposition," he says, "instead of trying to offer something better."

Liberals, to Rozek, aren't villains or foes, "they're just people." Because he's tired of the demonizing some right-wingers practice, Rozek has become less political, canceling many subscriptions to political magazines and spending less time listening to talk radio. He does plan to vote in 1996, though. "I could be brain-dead in the next year," he says, "and I'd still not vote for Clinton."

Rozek doesn't derive spiritual sustenance from most televangelists, but he does admire T.D. Jakes, a Charleston, West Virginia-based preacher whose broadcasts provide "the deepest knowledge of the Bible I've ever seen." He also enjoys occasionally listening to a gospel radio channel provided by his local cable network. But most of the time, Rozek prefers the Bible to preachers.

Michael Rozek has encountered many financial hurdles in trying to establish *Rozek's* as a successful publication. But he is finding his audience, and credits his faith in God for helping him to overcome the obstacles. "The only reason we're here and still publishing is because of God," he says. (*Rozek's* can be reached at 1-800-266-1515.)

Mayer Schiller

Rabbi Mayer Schiller cuts an imposing figure. At 6-foot-4, clad in the Hasidic uniform of black hat and black calf-length frock coat, and sporting the Orthodox Hebrew's trademark beard and earlocks, the 44-year-old rabbi has the easy laugh of a Brooklyn-born Jew but the commanding voice of a man who sees the world as embroiled in a titanic struggle ever since Adam and Eve dined on their famous apple. "The words *liberalism* and *conservatism* simply do not do justice to the apocalyptic struggle to which God has summoned all good men in our era," he argues.

In his youth, the Rabbi had titanic struggles of his own. His parents weren't Orthodox, and he drifted away from even their limited religious practice. He also dropped out of high school after the tenth grade, figuring that "whatever secular education I needed I would pursue on my own."

His intellectual biography reinforces the notion of an affinity of belief among the orthodox of all faiths. When Schiller was only 10, he became enthralled by the American conservative political movement, reading books by Barry Goldwater and William F. Buckley and magazines like *National Review* and *Human Events*. This finally led him back to his religious roots.

"If you probe the roots of conservatism," he explains, "you'll eventually uncover the religious conservative strain." The religious conservatives Schiller uncovered were not all Jewish, but included rather Christian apologists like C. S. Lewis, G. K. Chesterton, and Hilaire Belloc, and "the combination of their logic, their joy, and their zest for faith impressed me greatly."

Some critics have accused Chesterton and Belloc of anti-Semitism, but Schiller says the charge is untrue by any fair definition of the term. "Anti-Semitism is thrown around too casually these days," he says. "Jews can learn from these authors."

Schiller doesn't think Jews should fear the rise of the Christian conservative movement in America, but he understands why

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some of his coreligionists do. "Jews have a long history of suffering indiscriminately at the hands of gentiles, and this lingers in their psyche almost forever. Therefore Jews tend to think that any non-Jew who takes his faith or his nation seriously is by definition a threat."

But Schiller believes Jews should realize that "a gentile can have emotional attachment to his faith or nation without wanting to persecute Jews." Christian conservatives in America, especially since World War II, have a good record on this question, he adds, "and we really can't visit the forefathers' sins on their children, can we?" Besides, "Jewish overreaction" can worsen whatever badness exists.

"Jews should look at their faith," he continues, "and see what their faith teaches about how society should be ordered and run, and then work together with Christians to see that the truths of faith be implemented in society. Jews should "endorse Judeo-Christendom," Schiller argues, and support the particular men and women who attempt to advance its cause. Being "loyal to their God" is the most important thing American Jews can do today, he argues.

Schiller hasn't voted for a president for years, feeling somewhat like the British author Evelyn Waugh, who said he didn't vote because there were no Tories stern enough to command his respect.

When asked how he responds to criticisms that people like him just want to impose their morality on others, Rabbi Schiller recalls testimony he gave before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on the proposed religious liberty amendment. "I said this whole notion of neutrality in the public square is a farce, because whether you teach the McGuffey Readers, or Tom, Dick and Jane, or *Heather Has Two Mommies*, every school and every society embraces a certain vision. Tom Brokaw, Hillary Clinton, they are imposing their own vision of society. Everyone who pursues a program or platform is."

Armstrong Williams

During his youth in Marion, North Carolina, Armstrong Williams attended Methodist and Pentecostal church services on alternating Sundays, because his parents wanted to expose him to both of their faiths. Although he later joined the Pentecostal church, Williams ultimately concluded that morality transcends religious denominations. "My morality is not rooted in somebody's religion, but in the Ten Commandments, the law that God handed down."

These religious tenets, particularly his favorite, "Love thy neighbor as thyself," guide Williams' life and work. His career has encompassed service to Senator Strom Thurmond and Congressmen Carroll Campbell and Floyd Spence, and a stint as assistant to Clarence Thomas while he was chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. At age 36, Williams now hosts his own nationwide radio and television shows, and writes a syndicated newspaper column. He has a book out this year from Free Press entitled *Beyond Blame*. An audience is building for his fiery political commentary built on clearly defined moral precepts. "There's no gray area to *basic* morality. It's either right or wrong," he says.

"My morality is not rooted in somebody's religion, but in the Ten Commandments, the law that God handed down."

—Armstrong Williams

During the two months in 1985 when he remained at his father's bedside at George Washington University hospital in Washington, D.C., Williams' spiritual convictions deepened. "My father's suffering healed me and showed me the way. I am more spiritual now than I've ever been in my life," he explains. The experience left him convinced "I have an obligation to the world. I must serve. I must show kindnesses and love to all people, even my enemies."

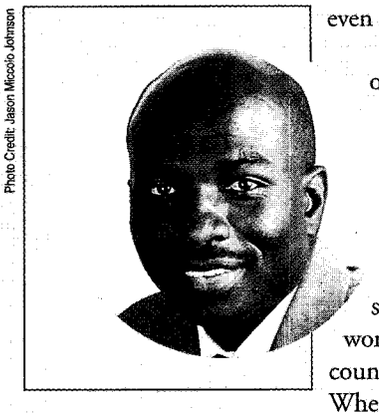


Photo Credit: Jason Miccolo Johnson

Williams is deeply critical of those that he fears are "trying to ban God from America. They're anti-Christian, they're anti-values, they're anti-family." Williams also fires at the entertainment industry, particularly rap artists. "Rap music perpetuates violence against women, perpetuates racism in this country, and perpetuates division." When asked how he would treat rap lyrics and videos, he replies without hesitation, "Censor them." Simply, "if it has profanity, if it has violence against women, if it's not good for children to listen to, then it shouldn't be on the public airwaves."

Instead of contributing to the moral decay of American society, elites should encourage cultural healing. "We need to get back to stressing that the best homes for kids are those with both parents. We need to examine the role of the mother in the home and reemphasize a father's responsibility for his household; we cannot allow him to leave that to the government." Williams is often asked to speak to young audiences, where he offers his plea directly: "I tell young people to wait until they find the person they can be committed to; they must make the right decision so marriage can be for life."

Williams has found support for his stance on family issues and teen sexuality from members of the church, but he also feels that a portion of the nation's religious leadership has abdicated its moral responsibility. "The unfortunate thing is that some church leaders have become politically correct so they can continue to receive money and have large memberships." Williams urges people to go beyond simple church attendance in their search for spiritual meaning. "In the end you've got to follow God's word, to know it for yourself. Whatever religious leaders and organizations are doing, we as individuals will build and change this country and world."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fundamentally confused

When it comes to religious conservatism, liberals don't have a clue

By Edward E. Ericson, Jr.

Here is an actual sentence, with a blank inserted, from a recent issue of a major American political journal. "The collapse of _____ has been as complete as it has been swift." How would you answer? How have you heard that construction completed recently? Oh, go ahead. Take a guess.

Did you fill in "the Soviet Union"? Its collapse was breathtakingly complete, and so swift that most Sovietologists never saw it coming. But—bzzzz—that's not the right answer.

What about "liberalism," then? The L-word has fallen into clear disrepute, so much so that liberals have taken to calling themselves post-liberals.

Or maybe "the Democratic party"? President Clinton now travels down the balanced-budget road with Republican fellows, and the number of Democratic defections keeps rising. Would that be your answer?

Or how about "the welfare state"? Maybe "affirmative action"? "The graduated income tax," even? All these would seem respectable bearers of the "swift, complete collapse" description. But—bzzzzzz—wrong, wrong, all wrong.

The right answer? *Intellectual conservatism!* Or at least so says Michael Lind in the Winter 1995 issue of *Dissent.*

Who is Michael Lind? A former assistant to William F. Buckley, and editor at Irving Kristol's *National Interest* who recently converted from grumpy right-wing theorist to angry left-wing soothsayer and loud loather of all things conservative. Leftists greeted his conversion with enthusiasm, and flung open their journals and publishing houses to his active pen and highly personal invective. He is now an editor at *The New Republic,* and a favorite of the *New York Review of Books.* He was recently profiled gushingly in the *Washington Post.* He has a book out that is getting lots of attention. Just as there is no anti-Communist like an ex-Communist, so, it turns out in Lind's case, there is no anti-conservative like an ex-conservative.

The title of Lind's article is "Why Intellectual Conservatism Died." This arresting notion that conservative thinking is now dead leaves some of us wondering what exactly—if anything—is now living. In a day when conservative books and magazines burgeon, when conservative think tanks flourish, when conservatives control the majority political party, when liberal pundits glumly agree that all the new ideas now emanate from the Right, is the plain evidence all around us simply wrong?

Readers who cling to the old habit of expecting evidence that something is true before a writer launches into his discussion of *why* it is so may find Lind's tale disappointing. All of Lind's proof that conservatism is brain-dead comes in his introductory paragraph, and it consists of statements such as this: "The basic concerns of intellectual conservatives in the eighties were foreign policy and economics; by the early nineties they had become dirty pictures and deviant sex."

Now, it is certainly true that conservatives have recently taken on new projects in the moral and cultural sphere. But this would seem more a sign of the maturity, confidence, and triumphant spread of the movement than evidence of its senility. Indeed, in the fields of foreign policy and economics, conservatism has nearly swept the field, and so it is entirely natural that attention would shift to other venues.

Besides, cultural matters have never been an afterthought for conservatives. The prominent conservative theorist Russell Kirk identified the chief challenge facing modern conservatives as "spiritual and moral regeneration: the restoration of the ethical system and the religious sanction upon which any life worth living is founded." This, he insisted, is "conservatism at its highest." Are these the efforts Lind demeans with his synecdoche of dirty pictures and deviant sex?

Before we turn to Lind's attack on cultural conservatism, consider two amusing minor arguments he makes for the death of intellectualism on the Right. One concerns nepotism: it seems there are at least four cases in which conservative offspring have grown up to agree with their parents—Buckley, Kristol, Podhoretz, Weyrich. You can look it up. No need to mention the red-diaper babies who gave us the New Left; these navy-blue-diaper babies are proof of intellectual stagnation.

Lind's other interesting minor point has to do with immigration. It seems foreigners are entering the ranks of leadership among American conservatives. Might this influx betoken the absorptive power of a self-confident movement? No, nothing like that. Rather, it magnifies "the disparity in social origins between the conservative base and the conservative elite."

But the "most important factor" in the demise of intellectual conservatism, according to Lind, is something even more nefarious: "the growing power within the Republican party of the Protestant Right." Oh, those naughty Protestants. Nary an intellectual among them. If Protestants are waxing, intellectuals are surely waning.

What sort of "Right" do Protestants produce, according to Lind and his crowd? "Far." Always and only a "Far Right." This is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not to demonize Protestants, mind you. Demonizing is something the ("Far") Right does to others.

In Lind's typology, Protestants soon metamorphose into "white evangelical Protestant conservatives," and then into "uncouth fire-and-brimstone Protestant evangelicals," and then into "Protestant fundamentalists," and (are you ahead of me yet?) finally into just plain old, unnuanced "fundamentalists." That favorite F-word. No worse epithet can any intellectual hurl.

Lind's next move is fresher. The traditional intellectual leaders of conservatism, he argues, the "only *respectable* spokesmen," were Catholics and Jews. But now the unwashed masses of Protestants have found their own leaders, people who do not "speak with funny upper class or foreign accents," and this has left conservatism's Catholics and Jews "at a loss. They have lost an empire, and not yet found a role."

"The specials marked with asterisks are recommended by the Christian right."

Drawing by Joseph Farris; © 1994 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

Well, they're not completely adrift. Catholic and Jewish intellectuals and their lineal descendants now get to play the "degrading new role" of "image consultants for Protestant fundamentalists." So the Williams Buckley and Bennett and Kristol "are part of the history, not of American thought, but of American public relations." Shills for fundamentalists, who have swamped the conservative boat with the strength of numbers.

But wait. Who are the new, dethroning, Protestant leaders? Lind's list counts all the way up to...one. Pat Robertson. Of course. (He also mentions Pat Buchanan, who is inconveniently Catholic.)

To give Lind his due, there are bits in his recent book and other writings that are original and intelligent. Furthermore, his own experience within the conservative movement allows him to draw distinctions among its different elements that other left-liberal commentators see only as an undifferentiated blur. And while the timing of his defection may bring to mind the picture of a ship passing a flotilla in the night, there is always a certain credit deserved for achieving one of the hardest things in the world to do: change one's mind.

Just the same, there is nothing subtle about Lind's thinking. The world he has left behind ends up looking to him like this: Conservatives are extremists. The farthest-out parts of the Right have the real power. Conservative politicians and intellectuals dance to the tune of the Christian Coalition. Pat Robertson is the most dangerous (because most powerful) man in America.

All this is starting to sound quite familiar. Where have we heard it before? Where haven't we? We hear it from Ted Kennedy and Barney Frank in Congress. From James Carville and others out of the White House. From Frank Rich and company at the *New York Times*.

Let's not call Lind an intellectual shill for the power brokers of the Left. But can't a person of his experience and quality do better than this in explaining the Right to the Left? Isn't it an odd view that finds America's electoral majority to be extremists and dupes manipulated by shills?

Understandably, the current ascendancy of conservatism has caused consternation among "progressives." What astounds is their fixation with the Christian Coalition. One stratagem is to count numbers, find them few, and dismiss the group as marginal. The more common stratagem, which Lind adopts, is to find the numbers growing and thus to consider this group the locus of conservative power. But the only thing the Christian Coalition has taken over is the liberal imagination. So long as it continues to present conservatives as crouching at bowed knee under the direction of Pat Robertson, the Left will never understand the American Right.

In today's conservative tolerance toward religious believers, Lind sees only a "no enemies to the right" policy. He asks suspiciously why conservatives do not join in bashing the one minority it's still okay to bash. He urges upon the Right the kind of factionalism so endemic to the Left as to be virtually definitional of it. Thanks, but no thanks.

Having been lambasted for decades for "apathetically" staying out of politics, religious fundamentalists are now lambasted for jumping in without first stopping being fundamentalists. It's the Age of Sensitivity, and liberalism celebrates diversity—but it's got to be the right kind.

Not all conservatives are religious believers, and not all believers are conservatives. But the overlap between the two is too important to be ignored or minimized, so Lind is right to highlight religion when discussing conservatism. The fact that conservative Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant Americans are now making common cause (and welcome to you conservative Muslims, too), right in the midst of what Václav Havel has called the world's first atheistic civilization, is quite striking. This phenomenon needs analysis much more astute than that offered by Michael Lind, however, who is at his most hysterical on things touching on religion.

Edward Ericson, who wrote about Solzhenitsyn for the May/June issue of The American Enterprise, *is a professor of English at Calvin College in Grand Rapids, Michigan.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religion and the Press

Cease fire ahead?

by Dale D. Buss

In the 1990s, religion and the religious have forced their way onto the nation's front pages. Increasingly, faith is joining politics, crime, sports, and business as a subject of everyday news coverage.

Indicators of this include the fact that National Public Radio and the *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour* recently created full-time staff jobs devoted to religion coverage—joining ABC, which hired the very first network religion reporter in 1994, at the request of Peter Jennings. The *Dallas Morning News* has launched a separate weekly section devoted entirely to religion. And the resuscitated Religious News Service boosted its clientele to 100 newspapers this year, from 70 last year. Meanwhile, both ABC and CBS television have recently run hour-long documentaries on conservative Christianity. *Good Morning America* has inaugurated regular on-air conversations about faith between a Catholic priest and a rabbi.

All of this is encouraging if you are either a believer or someone who thinks that any phenomenon commanding the devotion of hundreds of millions of Americans deserves serious media coverage. But hold on—because the roster above nearly exhausts the list of such developments. For every sign that the American media are offering increasing time and care to coverage of religion, there are several others illustrating just how poorly America's most fervent pursuit continues to be treated.

"If you believe our media, religion still isn't on the radar screen as an important concern of American life," says media watchdog Brent Bozell of the conservative Media Research Center in Alexandria, Virginia. Many journalists concede the same thing. "Religion has been very poorly covered, and continues to be," says Peggy Wehmeyer, ABC's religion reporter. "Religious movements in this country are largely ignored—or misunderstood." Joan Connell, editor at the Religion News Service, observes that "while people are intensely interested in religions, ethics, in thinking of life in more than pragmatic terms, journalism hasn't really responded to that."

Some recent indicators of this continuing deficiency:

- Despite some individual highlights, overall network news coverage of religion actually dropped 5 percent in 1994 compared with 1993. Only 376 out of more than 54,000 morning and evening news stories focused on faith in 1994, content analyses show.
- While the number of American daily newspapers with full-time religion reporters climbed to an estimated 75 last year, more than 1,700 continue to be without one.
- News coverage of last year's world population-control conference in Cairo and of September's international women's conference in Beijing was mostly disdainful of lobbying on family issues by U.S. Catholics and evangelicals plus believers from other countries, in both cases labeling objectors "fundamentalists."
- A three-article series by *Los Angeles Times* media reporter David Shaw concluded that reports last year on John Paul II's visit to the United States focused inordinately on disagreements over issues like the ordination of women and abortion and birth control, largely ignoring the celebratory aspects of his visit and misrepresenting his overall relationship with American Catholics.
- The mainstream media continue to miss developing stories involving religious conservatives, critics and gatekeepers both agree. Many news organizations have been slow to recognize the huge role played by evangelicals in Republican election victories, for instance. And amidst

Illustration by Rick Sealock

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The press often "seems bent on making a group of people who have always been in the mainstream of our culture look as though we're abnormal, unusual, on the fringe, and somehow a threat to what this country has always stood for."

the rising interest in adoption as a news issue, the long-time support lent to adoption networks by conservative Christians has been largely overlooked.

• Egregious instances of Christian-bashing and argument-slanting continue apace, complain perceived victims. The day after the November election, for example, newly elected Congressman J. C. Watts, a black Republican from Oklahoma who is an evangelical, was asked by NBC's Bryant Gumbel about being aligned with "the so-called religious right and other conservative extremists who are historically insensitive to minority concerns. That doesn't bother you?"

On December 1, a report by CNN about the involvement of Christians in school boards tagged them as willing to "use exaggeration and sometimes outright distortion" to win elections and issues. Reporter Kathy Slobogin said Christian board members were guilty of "preying on parents' fears."

Most generally, Christian critics complain, the press often "seems bent on making a group of people who have always been in the mainstream of our culture look as though we're abnormal, unusual, on the fringe, and somehow a threat to what this country has always stood for," states Joe Stillone, an elder at a Bible church in Mequon, Wisconsin. In the meantime, others note, the media have turned "marginal" on its head by mainstreaming New Age religious phenomena in their coverage. "The media is very interested now in spirituality, but much more in New Age spirituality and spirituality without tradition, boundaries, or history," Wehmeyer says.

Religion continues to be a major influence on American mores and culture. As ABC commentator Jeff Greenfield notes, there are more people in houses of worship each weekend than attend a Major League Baseball game in a whole year. "Religion is such an important source of values and such a powerful predictor of values that unless we find a way to talk publicly about religion we can't have a democratic society," says Stewart Hoover, a University of Colorado expert on media coverage of religion. Terry Mattingly, a communications professor at Milligan College in Tennessee who writes a nationally syndicated column on religion in the media for Scripps Howard, agrees. "What are the issues that are dividing America right now politically? They're all quasi-moral and religious."

So why don't American news media afford religious faithful the amount and quality of coverage they deserve? Mattingly and others identify several reasons. Because most editors and producers care very little about religion, they allocate minimal resources to covering it. That leaves media outlets unprepared to cover a field involving hundreds of major institutions, diverse ideas, complicated politics and thousands of personalities.

What's more, when they want to understand faith, the overwhelmingly secular outlook and lack of strong religious orientation that is typical among journalists creates huge knowledge gaps and blind spots. For example, because of his traditionalism on sexual issues, many U.S. reporters tend to oversimplify John Paul II as a conservative, though the Pope's views on such matters as income redistribution are often sharply to the Left. "Overt anti-religious sentiments are rare, but uninformed reporters are too often intellectually lazy about getting their facts straight when assigned to cover religion stories," concluded *Bridging the Gap: Religion and the News Media*, a 1993 report by former *Los Angeles Times* religion writer John Dart and Reverend Jimmy Allen, former president of the Southern Baptist Convention.

ABC's Wehmeyer is unusual not only because she's the only full-time religion reporter on network television, but also because she's one of just a very small number of national reporters who has real experience and understanding for the religion beat. She is a seminary graduate and former staff member at the Dallas Theological Seminary, and currently teaches Sunday school at a non-denominational church in Dallas. Over the last year, her stories have ranged from the scoop on the conversion of Norma McCorvey (the "Roe" in *Roe v. Wade*), to interviews with prison inmates who explained how learning about Christ through the Prison Fellowship program had changed their lives, to a feature on how some business executives apply biblical principles in their work.

"Sometimes I think of myself as walking into this huge mansion with a bunch of dark rooms," Wehmeyer says. "The doors are closed, and my job is to open them and turn on the lights to let people see what's in there. Religion is a whole wing of a mansion whose doors just haven't been opened."

While many journalists simply aren't adequately equipped to swing those doors wide, others would actively prefer to keep them

Dale D. Buss, a former Wall Street Journal *reporter and* Milwaukee Journal *editor, operates Cornerstone Communications in Cedarburg, Wisconsin.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

closed. This is where the news media's anti-religious bias enters in. A 1980 survey by researchers S. Robert Lichter and Stanley Rothman found that most elite journalists are personally sour on religion, and presumably therefore unenthusiastic about covering it. From interviews with 240 journalists at seven top news outlets in New York and Washington, Lichter and Rothman learned that 86 percent seldom or never attended religious services. A Lichter/Rothman study of a few years ago that focused specifically on persons in television found that 93 percent seldom or never attended services. By contrast, among the American public at large, half of all persons attend church at least twice a month.

Among reporters at less prestigious outlets, religious predilections are somewhat closer to the norm, yet well out of the mainstream still. "The fact is, most people in the media are either secular, or Jewish, or both, and those two groups voted at rates of 72 percent plus for Clinton, but amount to only 10 percent or so of the American people," says Michael Barone, a columnist for *U.S. News & World Report* who isn't religious himself but believes the faithful generally have a positive impact on civic life. "Reporters often see religious beliefs as something to be ridiculed or held up for examination."

The Lichter-Rothman survey and other research has also shown that media gatekeepers are way out of whack with most Americans when it comes to moral issues. Ninety percent of reporters are pro-choice, for instance, and 54 percent don't regard adultery as wrong. A major 1990 study that David Shaw did for the *Los Angeles Times* found that the American news media had what he calls an "almost instinctive bias in favor of the abortion-rights argument, with unspoken acceptance of the terms, images, and language of the abortion-rights side."

Michael Barone has referred to the liberal bias that distorts press coverage of religion as "a Rolodex problem." Washington and New York reporters "know all sorts of liberal sources. They're their friends.... But they know no one in the Christian Coalition." Barone calls for hiring efforts to bring more active Christians into newrooms. "I'm serious.... If Bill Clinton misquotes Scripture and nobody on staff knows it because no one is a Christian, then you're not covering America," he told a press gathering earlier this year. Asked about this, ABC's Peggy Wehmeyer opines that "diversity of faith and opinion in a newsroom is probably as important as that of race."

Various religious faiths have fared differently at the hands of reporters. Liberal mainline groups like the National Council of Churches have always been handled deferentially. Newer and more traditionalist organizations and faiths have often gotten harsher treatment. Islam, for instance, though it's one of America's fastest-growing religions, has generally been caricatured in nasty ways. Though many leading reporters are Jewish, Judaism doesn't get much regard in the press either, especially Orthodox varieties. "It's 'faux reverence'," says Jeffrey Goldberg of the national Jewish weekly *Forward*.

In covering Catholicism, journalists tend to focus myopically on issues of sex and gender, where their personal mores often conflict sharply with Church teachings. A typical reference to the Pope in the *Washington Post* recently began, "His rejection of change in the role of women, along with his opposition to abortion and contraception, is causing some believers to question the direction of his papacy and whether his best fights are behind him."

Evangelical Christians, however, insist that they are the biggest victims of anti-religious prejudice. An infamous example is the 1993 *Washington Post* front-page story describing conservative Christians as "largely poor, uneducated, and easy to command." Richard Ostling, a correspondent for *Time* and the *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*, describes this deeply rooted newsroom view as "a cultural stereotype as bad as the racial stereotypes of the past. Imagine if the paper had applied that phrase to blacks, Arab-Americans, or Jews. Someone on the copy desk would have said, 'Whoa, Charlie!'" Conservative Christians "have a gripe," says Ostling, "because they're a very significant force in U.S. culture yet have been treated as a marginal phenomenon, if not with outright hostility."

A huge chasm still exists between the U.S. news media and the spiritual beliefs and motivations of average Americans. The fissure does appear to be closing a bit, however. The unflattering spins that seemed to accompany each new story over the last decade on the burgeoning social presence of evangelical Christians may at last be softening. A grudging journalistic respect seems to be developing for what the movement has accomplished. There's also the fact that, on issues like the importance of fathers, the rest of society is now coming around to views that the faithful had been expressing for some time. Could a cease-fire lie in the future?

❧

"If Bill Clinton misquotes Scripture and nobody on staff knows it because no one is a Christian, then you're not covering America," Michael Barone told a press gathering earlier this year.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The PARTY

When many people think of Christians, they visualize Ralph Reed and the Christian Coalition. For them, Christians are an interest group rather than a cultural phenomenon. But electoral involvement by religious believers transcends the Christian Coalition, and politics reflects merely one facet of Christian activism. Christians have developed what essentially functions as a parallel universe encompassing art, education, journalism, music, politics, publishing, and more. For many believers these religious networks have largely supplanted similar institutions in secular society.

Consider the political side of Christianity. The Christian Coalition, which has 1.7 million energetic supporters, has turned into one of the nation's most effective lobbies. In 1994 alone it distributed 33 million voter guides. Executive Director Reed opines that conservative Christians are "too large, too diverse, too significant to be ignored by either major party."

But the Christian Coalition is not alone. Reverend Louis Sheldon runs the Traditional Values Coalition, representing some 31,000 churches. James Dobson's Focus on the Family concentrates on issues like child-rearing, but Dobson is not shy about offering his opinion on such issues as abortion and pornography to his organization's 2 million supporters. The largest women's organization in the nation is not the National Organization for Women but Concerned Women for America, with a membership of 600,000, run by conservative Beverly LaHaye.

The National Association of Evangelicals maintains a Washington, D.C. office run by Robert Dugan, a former pastor who once ran for Congress. The Southern Baptist Convention publishes a newsletter entitled *SALT,* which focuses on Washington affairs. Smaller activist groups abound: America for Family Values, which has gained a reputation opposing gay-rights initiatives; WallBuilders, whose peripatetic president, David Barton, travels around the country pushing school prayer, among other issues; and the Christian Action Network, which has criticized the National Endowment for the Arts and offered its own "Pro-Family Contract with America."

Christian influence extends into Washington's think tank community. The Ethics and Public Policy Center works mostly on religion-related issues. The Institute on Religion and Democracy is involved in public policy and monitoring of church activities. Gary Bauer, a former domestic policy adviser to President Reagan, runs the Family Research Council, which publishes reports on everything from the Kinsey sex studies to welfare.

National organizations, although critically important in the development of Christian political activism, are only the tip of a much larger iceberg of local civic participation. A group of churches in Fairfax County, Virginia, organized forums for school board candidates in Fall 1995 because of concern over the "Family Life Education" (or sex education) curriculum. In New York City religious activists helped elect a city school board opposed to a controversial curriculum program. In Vista, California, three Christian candidates were propelled onto the school board by a get-out-the-vote campaign mounted by local churches. Through fax networks, church bulletins, newsletters, Sunday school classes, and pastoral exhortations Christians are acting to influence politics from the local to the national level. An increasing number are even running for office, like Reverend Ron Lewis, elected to Congress in Kentucky, and David Mahie, elected as clerk of the County Circuit Court in Prince William County, Virginia.

Not all Christian activism is conservative, of course. The Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs maintains a strict separationist stance on political issues. The National Council of Churches continues to back liberal causes. In May, a coalition of religious activists ranging from mainline to left-leaning evangelicals formed the Progressive Evangelical Network to offer an alternative to the Christian Coalition. Grassroots Christian activism is dominated by conservatives, however. Some 25 conservative religious organizations are known to be active, and though none is formally partisan, all have backed conservative candidates and causes. As for the electorate, 7 out of 10 evangelicals voted Republican in 1994.

Christians have also recognized the power of the law to achieve political ends. In an attempt to match the ACLU and a host of Legal Services Corporation-subsidized law groups, the

UNIV

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LIFE

Photo Credit: Rex USA/Anthony Culajar

Christian rock group Stryper

Christianity's large, diverse, and thriving subculture demonstrates that the Christian faith means more than church

FROM by Doug Bandow

Rutherford Institute was founded in 1982. It devotes much of its attention to education issues—the right to homeschool, for instance, and the right of public school students to form Bible study groups. Another organization is the Christian Legal Society, a voluntary association of Christian lawyers, which intervenes in legal cases involving religious freedom. Five years ago Pat Robertson organized the American Center for Law and Justice. The group, with 200 affiliated private attorneys, has defended public religious displays, abortion protesters, and churches in zoning disputes, and pressed for equal treatment of religious groups. The Becket Fund for Religious Liberty and the Alliance Defense Fund do similar work. Less visible and confrontational is the Center for Law and Religious Freedom, which emphasizes mediation.

Christian influence extends to the media. The secular media tend to segregate issues of faith to the religion page, but a wider-ranging Christian media has grown up independently. There are literally hundreds of Christian periodicals with nationwide circulations. Some are well-known, such as *Christianity Today*, founded by Carl Henry, the flagship evangelical publication that covers everything from politics to culture. Others include *World,* a conservative evangelical news weekly, and *Sojourners,* a leftish evangelical monthly. *First Things* is a broad political/cultural journal run by noted theologian Richard John Neuhaus.

However, much of the market has nothing to do with politics. There are several large women's magazines for Christians. *Christian History* studies the history of the church. *Christian Parenting* offers advice to parents. *Campus Life* is for students. *Discipleship Journal* helps readers deepen their faith. Other publications like *Catholic Digest, Teen Power, Clergy Journal,* and *Sports Spectrum* address their own special markets. Fourteen periodicals deal with music. Not all religious magazines are Christian, of course. There's *Reform Judaism* and *Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle,* for instance.

Some 130 book publishers concentrate on Christian titles. Eerdmans of Grand Rapids is evangelical; *Harper SanFrancisco* will print anything from New Age to Christian. Christian publishers also regularly cooperate with secular firms. Chuck Colson's *Kingdoms in Conflict* was issued by both Zondervan, a Christian press, and William Morrow, a major New York house. (Of course, mainstream publishers will occasionally publish overtly religious books, like those by Pope John Paul II, by themselves.) Moreoever, there are 45 publishers of Christian curricula and textbooks. Some are denominational; others are ecumenical but theologically conservative. Another 30, such as *Our Sunday Visits,* for Catholics, handle devotional material. Religious publishers also reissue literary classics such as *Robinson Crusoe* and *A Little Princess,* to fill a perceived lack of wholesome modern writing for children and adults.

Christian books are often massive sellers—Frank Peretti's

IRSF

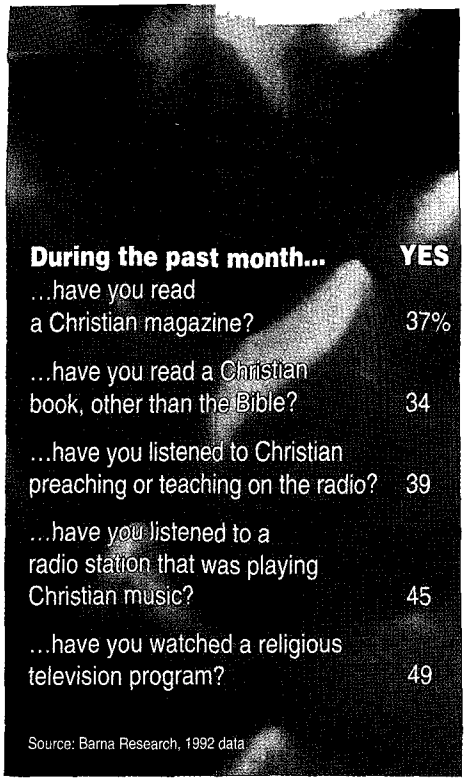
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

three novels on spiritual warfare have sold a total of 5 million copies, but they almost never make the bestseller lists—since sales by Christian booksellers are not counted. Yet these stores, almost 7,000 nationally, are running up sales of about $3 billion annually, triple the level of 1980. In fact, religious books account for roughly half of the trade book market. There are also a number of Christian book clubs, such as that run by InterVarsity Press, which publishes books ranging from theology to politics.

There are four Christian, one Jewish, and one ecumenical news services. These tend to specialize: the Evangelical Press News Service focuses on conservative Protestants; the National Catholic News Service covers Catholicism. There are also five Christian (and one Jewish) press associations. Religious columnists are joined with Christians who happen to be columnists, Cal Thomas being perhaps the most widely syndicated. Newsletters also abound—the independent *Context*, edited by church historian Martin Marty; *The Religion & Society Report*, from the conservative Rockford Institute; *Religion & Liberty*, published by the Acton Institute, which works to enhance religious people's appreciation of freedom; and *Religion & Democracy*, from the Institute on Religion and Democracy, are just a few. Added to this are countless minor publications, such as *Wide Awake* magazine at the University of Virginia, which sparked a recent Supreme Court case over school funding.

Equally important, though equally invisible to most Americans, is the plethora of Christian broadcasters, represented by the National Religious Broadcasters. All told, there are 163 religious television and 1,328 religious radio stations. Although usually modest in size, these stations have devoted followings. The 23 religious cable networks extend the media reach of Christians even further. The Family Channel now goes out to 61 million homes. Perhaps its best known religious programming is Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network, with its flagship program, *The 700 Club*, garnering an estimated 1 million viewers. Eternal Word Television is a Catholic channel. Cable giant TCI recently paid $30 million for a 49 percent share of Faith & Values, originally formed by the Southern Baptist Convention and other religious groups, and sent to 24 million cable subscribers. Some organizations produce their own shows: D. James Kennedy's Coral Ridge Ministries, for instance, offers a weekly television and daily radio show. In fact, there are 20 independent Christian video and film producers. The programming runs from spiritual to politics to entertainment.

Nor has the electronic revolution bypassed Christians. Religion has come to the Internet. "Christianity Online" allows participants to read Christian publications, study information on Christian colleges, shop for Christian products, download Christian software, list prayer requests, and chat about themselves, theology, or politics. Individual churches—the Catholic Archdiocese of New York and the Orthodox Church in America, for example—have gone on-line. America Online hosts a Religion and Ethics Forum.



Few issues are of greater interest to Christians than education. There are more than 20,000 religious elementary and secondary schools, 8,700 of which are Catholic. These schools educate roughly 4 million of the 4.6 million students in private schools. The largest Christian educational organization, the Association of Christian Schools International, has 3,000 members. Homeschooling is also increasing among Christians, since it provides the surest (and cheapest) means of insulating children from what parents fear to be the potentially pernicious influence of professional educators.

Most of the oldest colleges, like Harvard, were established with religious ties. Nearly 1,000 post-secondary institutions retain a religious affiliation. The largest number of these, 246, are Catholic. Here, as elsewhere, diversity is evident: the Brethren in Christ Church, Church of God, Evangelical Congregational Church, Greek Orthodox, Moravian Church, and North American Baptist all have their own schools.

Of the liberal arts colleges, 89 have joined the Coalition for Christian Colleges & Universities, which offers a nonpartisan Washington program, involving lectures, study, and internships, for students. Among the most important evangelical schools are Calvin College, Wheaton College, and Regent University, the latter of which was established by Pat Robertson. Additionally, there are at least 55 undergraduate Bible colleges, such as Moody Bible Institute, Criswell College, and the American Indian Bible College. All told, schools with a religious affiliation account for an ever-increasing number of college students, about 1.3 million out of 14.5 million as of fall 1992.

Equally important is Christian philanthropy. Religious people have long been known to be more generous givers than the nonreligious. And giving tends to be higher for churches with more conservative theologies—members of Baptist and Assemblies of God congregations are more likely to tithe and volunteer, for instance. A century ago many mainline churches essentially discarded evangelism for political activism and embraced the "social gospel." Today an increasing number of evangelical churches are attempting to combine spiritual and material relief. Explains pastor and political activist George Grant, "Welfare is not the government's job. Welfare is our job. It is the job of Christians."

Churches themselves are involved in all manner of charitable assistance. The Salvation Army, for instance, is a national church that directs much of its attention to the needy. Local congregations also run programs. Some are simple: Christian Assembly in the D.C. suburbs collects "gleanings" from children every Sunday and donates the money for relief. Other initiatives are more complex.

Doug Bandow is a Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute and author of The Politics of Envy: Statism as Theology *and* Beyond Good Intentions: A Biblical View of Politics.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Portland one urban church has established Fridays Enterprises, a business that employs some of its members, including single mothers desiring to escape welfare. Baltimore's St. Ignatius Catholic Church runs a relief center. Many, like Grace Community Church in Wozinak, Minnesota, manage feeding programs; others assist crisis pregnancy centers (which attempt to help pregnant women avoid abortions). Jerry Falwell has established a home for unwed mothers. Phoenix's Open Door Fellowship has created a program called Neighborhood Ministries, which offers tutoring, youth programs, clothing and food assistance, and counseling.

Local churches also cooperate in charitable endeavors. In Terre Haute, Indiana, for instance, several churches, through the Greater Terre Haute Church Federation, established a food distribution program in conjunction with the Great Scot supermarket chain. In Harlem dozens of churches joined together to create the STEP Foundation, to fight poverty.

In addition are an estimated 54,000 Christian non-profits. These include national organizations, like World Vision (which is involved in international relief efforts), Living Bibles International (which distributes Bibles worldwide), the Christian Community Development Association (which promotes initiatives to transform neighborhoods and cities), and Prison Fellowship (formed by former Nixon aide Chuck Colson to minister to prisoners). The latter, barely 20 years old, works in prisons across the nation and runs a Christmas program, called Angel Tree, enlisting volunteers to purchase and deliver presents to the children of convicts.

Local organizations are even more significant. In Washington, D.C., Christ House acts as a medical halfway house for the homeless sick who are not ill enough to be hospitalized. Sister Connie Driscoll has established a homeless shelter for women in Chicago; her facility uses "tough-love" to achieve one of the lowest recidivism rates in the city. In Houston, Christians created Humble Evangelicals to Limit Poverty, which has placed hundreds of people in jobs and addressed other needs, such as education, day care, housing, and training. Jesus People, USA, an inner-city Christian community in Chicago, created not just a job referral system, but also several small businesses to employ local laborers. Dallas has the Voice of Hope, with job training, education, thrift store, home rehabilitation, and health care. Safe Harbor Boy's Home, consisting of a dozen boats moored near Jacksonville, Florida, cares for 15 troubled youths at a time.

Such charitable endeavors are buttressed by parachurch groups that emphasize evangelism and Christian living, which have an indirect impact on the larger social milieu. Promise Keepers is a relatively new ministry dedicated to calling men to holiness and better relationships with their families. In 1995, 700,000 men attended rallies in cities around the country (see article on page 39). Focus on the Family seeks to improve people's home lives. Founder James Dobson sells millions of practical books, tapes a daily half-hour radio show listened to by an estimated 5 million people each week, and sells magazines, tapes, and even t-shirts (see page 43). Teen Challenge, a national program with 130 local chapters, works to free people, young and old alike, from alcohol and drug addiction; studies show its success rate to range between 70 percent and 86 percent, compared to secular programs that rarely break into double digits. Concerts of Prayer holds citywide prayer meetings. InterVarsity Christian Fellowship evangelizes college youth.

The Christian universe is not all spiritual seriousness. Contemporary Christian Music, a $750 million industry, encompasses pop, rock, rap, and heavy metal. There is even a Christian version of MTV. Several Christian artists, such as Amy Grant, have crossed over onto the pop charts. The growth in the industry has resulted in every major Christian music label being purchased by a larger secular one.

There is also a Christian commercial subculture. Christian or born-again advertising guides are common; the Shepherd's Guide circulates in the Washington, D.C. area. Companies offer Christian kitchen products, Christian low-impact aerobic videos, and Christian clothing catalogs. More than 3,000 churches belong to Group Leaders of America, which provides travel information for nonprofits. Churches host 1.2 million people on tours every year. Not all of these travels have a religious purpose. The South Bethlehem (New York) United Methodist Church has organized trips to Hawaii, Pennsylvania's Amish country, and Scandinavia.

The list goes on. This vast Christian subculture in part reflects the fact that America is a very religious country: 95 percent say they believe in God. Moreover, 79 percent say they pray every day, 69 percent say they are members of churches or synagogues, 59 percent say religion is "very important" (another 29 percent say it is "fairly important") in their own lives, and 42 percent say that they are "born-again" or evangelical.

But widespread religious faith is not the sole explanation. After all, pervasive Christian belief once permeated the entire culture. Today's parallel universe also reflects the fact that religion has lost its hold over that larger culture—indeed, that major secular institutions, such as academia, arts, media, and public schools, now ignore and often undermine the traditional biblical world view. Christian parents, explains James Dobson, "never heard their perspective in the national media; they couldn't find it in the sitcoms; they found it contradicted in almost every movie that came out of Hollywood." In self-defense, then, many Christians have created their own institutions. They simply felt they had little choice as their values slipped from public discourse and cultural expression. Thomas Fleming, editor of *Chronicles,* puts it more bluntly: "For 100 years these people have been mocked, abused, and high-hatted.... They couldn't fight back: Jerkwater America didn't have the education, the wealth, or the power to do battle with the great cultural institutions. Instead, many of them have quietly walked away."

Doing so may have a serious downside, weakening Christian influence in the broader culture. Abandoning Harvard for Wheaton, however valuable the latter, is not necessarily a good bargain. On the other hand, developing experience and skills in Christian analogues of secular institutions may help prepare believers for an eventual return to influence in the rest of society.

In any case, Christianity's large, diverse, and thriving subculture demonstrates that the Christian faith means more than church attendance. It is a faith that incorporates political, civic, and charitable activism; it animates artists, businessmen, educators, and musicians. In all these ways Christianity illustrates its claim to transcendence in believers' lives.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religious Conservatives, Up Close IV

Anne Husted Burleigh and William R. Burleigh

Photo Credit: Robert A. Fischel

To hear Cincinnati's Anne Husted Burleigh and her husband Bill talk is to hear a very fresh version of a very old view of family life. Thirty-one years ago the couple married, and Anne, who earned a bachelor's degree in European history and master's in American history while working as a reporter at the *Indianapolis Star,* quit her job to begin making a home. "I was happy," she explains, "to have my freedom to do all the things I wanted to."

She promptly started work on her first book, a study of John Adams. Her latest, just out, is called *Journey Up the River: A Midwesterner's Spiritual Pilgrimage.* Though Anne's reporting job was exciting, she says she "never missed it at all." While many people see the move from job to home as a great sacrifice, Anne's view is different. "If I'd kept working it would have been a great deprivation to my husband, my children, and to me, because the greatest joy I've had has been to take care of my loved ones and educate my children."

Pressed whether she'd recommend her way of life to young women today, Anne replies, "I wouldn't presume to tell girls what to do because I don't know what's going on in their heart, in the interior of their family, or what their obligations are. But I do suggest that if they have children they ask themselves who better could rear them. I would be so distressed if I had to turn over that job to a surrogate, because I'd feel I wasn't taking care of my responsibility, and was missing out on my biggest satisfaction." Parents who look honestly at what they might sacrifice will "quite often find a way to stay home and take care of those young minds and hearts and souls."

One objection raised to such a choice is that it wastes the caretaker's education, but Anne disagrees strenuously. "Oh no, a mother should be the best educated person in the world. I think it's a young woman's responsibility to receive the finest liberal arts education she can. To say it's advisable for young women to stay home with their kids doesn't mean they have to let their brains dry up—they should keep reading and studying and thinking."

The other objection now leveled against a career like Anne's is monetary: there just isn't any way most women can afford not to work, is there? But Anne and Bill's life belies that assumption. They started out quite humbly: "Certainly we had nothing for a quite a long time, but we never really felt we were poor. I ended up many weeks with 50 cents or less left in my little grocery budget, yet somehow we always squeaked by." Anne believes that "young women and men have to decide whose career is going to support the family, who's going to be the chief breadwinner. And if they say, OK, it's the husband, then I think they both need to point in that direction. The rearing of the children is both the parent's primary task, but the man's and woman's gifts to that family end are likely to be different."

Anne doesn't think that a mother working is inherently bad at all. She just advises that one career be the primary one and that any work the mother does allow her flexibility to spend as much time as possible with her children. "I think mothers can be quite inventive, and in this respect the computer is a godsend. It seems to me that mothers can now more easily work in their home and be there when their children need them." Anne adds that "even when our kids were little, I wrote book reviews." As they grew, she took on bigger tasks, including a regular column for the Catholic journal *Crisis.*

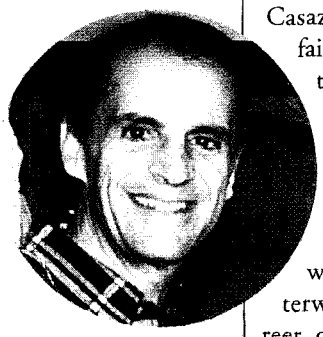
Reared as a Methodist, Anne had some religious doubts in high school. In college she became interested in the Catholic church. "European history can't be studied without studying the Church," she says, "and I was intrigued. I also got interested through Bill. I had never met a man who was so strong in his faith, and felt he had something wonderful I'd better look into."

Husband Bill worked his way up from a part-time sports reporter for his hometown paper in Evansville, Indiana, to be president and chief operating officer of the Scripps-Howard newspapers.

Bill tries to mix his religion into his civic service. He's worked with the Sisters of Charity hospitals for a decade, and is a member of the Knights of Malta religious order. A "good bit" of his recent activity "has been focused on Catholic inner-city schools in Cincinnati, trying to get the corporate community to recognize what a wonderful resource they are and give them financial undergirding to support the little miracles they are performing." Summing up his life, Bill says simply that "all I've wanted to do is raise a good family, put out a good newspaper, and get to heaven."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Larry Casazza



By the time he became a doctor, Larry Casazza had fallen away from his faith. "I was raised in the Catholic tradition. I had eight years of nuns followed by eight years of Jesuit training. I drifted away from that as I sensed that it was more form and requirement than anything that had to do with my faith. For many years afterwards I pursued my medical career objectives." While working in Pakistan and Nepal on health projects, Casazza began to recognize that man is a composite of body, soul, mind, and spirit. "What I saw there was a spiritual integration amongst Muslims and Hindus that I hadn't experienced in my own Christian life. It certainly affirmed that the spiritual element was something I had ignored and pretty much negated in my own life. That created at least a yearning."

"Back in about 1975, I did have what people would call a religious experience. At that point, God answered a prayer in a way that I could not deny was anything but a response from Him, and that began a gradually deepening relationship." Casazza's faith is now a central part of his life. "My relationship with God through Jesus Christ truly sustains me," he says.

In a very literal sense, Casazza has reshaped his life to try to become an instrument of the Lord. He has spent years doctoring in Africa, Asia, and other parts of the Third World. Currently he works on international relief projects with a large Christian development agency called World Vision, where "I am responsible for child survival, working very closely with a group from Johns Hopkins Public Health who are our technical partners in implementing these projects."

Casazza considers his overseas efforts a two-way street. "These aren't in the dynamic of master and servant but as true brother-assisting-brother, with benefits in both directions." Casazza believes it would be a mistake for Americans to isolate themselves from the world. He bases this both on his understanding of Christian responsibility and on practical arguments. "An isolationist policy would soon reduce the prosperity we enjoy. In clinical terms, we cannot isolate ourselves from outside diseases, with today's modern transportation systems." Casazza believes that Americans will always want to help people in other countries. "At no point do I despair that the American public is going to give up on effective foreign assistance. Whenever I go back home to Montana and get an opportunity to talk to groups like the Lions and Rotary clubs, I find strong interest in global outreach."

Casazza calls himself a conservative, but he does not want to be included in the religious right. "I would put myself on the conservative side of issues. But at the same time, in terms to foreign assistance to countries that are struggling to improve their infant mortality rates, and better the condition of women and families and the poor—these are issues which I am very committed to, personally and professionally. Those are issues that liberals might claim in their camp." Casazza believes that the term "religious right" reduces people to caricatures. "It is another little pigeon hole. I am uncomfortable when the secular press or whoever comes up with these quick ways of slotting people. It depersonalizes. And certainly among the Christian circles that I am familiar with, nobody really fits into that category. These are thinking people."

Casazza is suspicious of any politician who is too overtly religious. "I must say that when someone starts waving the Bible at a political discussion I get uneasy. Obviously when it is an issue that directly comes up against something that is very clear in God's word as behavior that is unacceptable, then that is an easy one. But as Christians our responsibility is to love, and one can become so strident and rigid that you become unloving. And then I think you've lost the forest for the trees."

Casazza prays for and respects whoever is the leader of the country. "Scripture says that authority has been placed there by God. Even when they are not of my particular political persuasion, I still give them respect and support in my prayers." And he hopes politicians will in turn have reverence for God's wisdom.

Jocelyn Jones

Jocelyn Jones, 24, is a recent graduate of the University of Virginia, an African American, and a devout Christian. During her senior year, she committed herself to Christ. "It was gradual. I knew that there was something more." Jones's commitment has changed her social life. "Certain things that were just kind of accepted as the norm, whether it be drinking or whatever, I realized those things were not helping me. So I changed. I tend now to surround myself with people who are a little more open about their Christianity, and their lifestyles reflect it."

After graduation, Jones found work as assistant to the president of the Network of Politically Active Christian Women (NPAC). "We fight for Biblical principles in government. We have been specifically targeting the black community and alerting them to the issues being dealt with in legislation. We believe that God is going to restore in our government a higher standard of moral excellence, but he is going to have to use Christians to do that." NPAC is most interested in abortion, education, homosexuality, and welfare reform.

Jones thinks that the black community should stop depending on the government and get back to its roots. "Since slavery, the center of our culture has been Christ. We need to get back to making where we stand with God our priority." Jones teaches Bible study in inner-city Raleigh, North Carolina, as a volunteer, and hopes one day to volunteer with single mothers. "I want to help them build themselves up, not only with a commitment to God but also with practical things like finance and money."

Jones's group opposed Henry Foster's nomination for Surgeon General because of Foster's abortion record. "A lot of people have lined up with a certain leader because he is black, not neces-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sarily for his beliefs." She is pleased so far with the election to Congress of more Christian conservatives. "We agree with many of the stances that they take. We are watching still to make sure everyone's voting in line with what we believe. A Republican Congress does not necessarily mean a Christian one."

Jones says, "Because of today's desperate situation, we have a lot of organizing to do in the black community. All Christians, but black Christians in particular, are going to have to ask what is going to come first: the party, our race, or Christ, putting him before even racial issues."

"Every film I make is an expression of my faith, although that is not the main intention of the film. It seems that there is always a parable mixed in there for me."

—Glen Keane

Glen Keane

Pocahontas, the sylph-like Native American princess whose romance with Captain John Smith was the film hit of the summer of '95, is the child of Glen Keane, supervising animator for Disney films. Keane drew Pocahontas as well as other beloved Disney characters like Aladdin, the beast in *Beauty and the Beast*, Ariel of *The Little Mermaid* and the golden eagle Marahute in *The Rescuers Down Under*. All this success has not gone to Keane's head, however. He remains a humble family man, hard-working artist, and Christian.

Keane, son of "Family Circus" cartoonist Bill Keane, has been at Disney for over 20 years. It was shortly after entering the Disney training program that he began to examine his faith. "I remember walking around the department feeling incredibly honored that I was there, and challenged as an artist. But at the same time this heaviness was coming over me, and I was sensing an emptiness inside. I knew that if I had to stand before God, I could not say I was pure in His eyes."

One day at work, the animators were matched in pairs, and Keane was partnered with Ron Husband. Keane noticed that at lunch Husband ate alone, reading the Bible. "I had never seen anybody read the Bible. I was raised Catholic, it was just not something anybody close to me ever did. And I had never really read it so I went to him and asked him what the Bible had to say about this emptiness I was feeling, about having my sins forgiven, and how I could know I was right before God." Husband showed the verse John 3:16 to Keane. "Suddenly, for the first time, I had the faith inside to believe that. It was as if I could reach down in my heart, and there was something I could put toward that verse. I knew there was nothing I could do to earn my way, that He had paid everything for me. All it took was for me to believe that He was God's son."

Keane's newfound faith helped him approach his art with fresh confidence. "I felt like I could pursue my animation with reckless abandon. With a joy and freedom that I did not have before." When Keane animates a character, it often reflects his Christianity. "Every film I make is an expression of my faith, although that is not the main intention of the film. It seems that there is always a parable mixed in there for me." In *The Rescuers Down Under*, the little boy flies on the eagle's back, learning to trust. At the end of the film, the eagle lets the boy jump off a waterfall and soar by himself for a while before the eagle catches him. "To me that is a parable of faith. God is always there to lift us up on eagle's wings and carry us, if we trust him." In *Beauty and the Beast*, the beast is transformed from the inside out. "To me, it is a great illustration of 2 Corinthians, 5:17: 'If any man is in Christ, he is a new creation.'"

"Even in *Pocahantas*, though there are a lot of New Age messages in it, that did not stop me from being able to equate the movement of the wind to the movement of the Holy Spirit, guiding and giving direction in my life just the way the wind does for Pocahantas." For Keane, it is easier to animate a character that he has conviction about and who is real to him. An animator does more than simply draw a figure, he gives the character its spirit. "An animator is really an actor with a pencil."

When Keane first became a Christian, he thought he wanted to get out of animation to become a minister. He told his pastor about wanting to do something "serious," and his pastor told him to stay put. "You are there because that is where God wants you to be. You can have a big impact sharing your light at Disney," he told me. Keane does not look at people as potential converts. "If somebody asks me about the hope I have, then I tell them what drives my life from the inside out, but I don't start evangelizing in the hallways."

"On my desk I have a verse that says, 'Whatever you do, work with your heart as working for the Lord.'" Keane keeps this verse in mind when decisions are made that he does not agree with. "I approach that as if it was the Lord saying, 'I want you do to the best you can. Even though it is not your idea or the way you would choose to do it, do it for me.' " Sometimes other employees will ask how Keane can be so calm about having two months of work sim-

© The Walt Disney Company. All Rights Reserved.
Photo Credit: Gene Trindl

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ply thrown out. "If you are honest you say that it really hurts and sometimes there are tears involved. But in the end I tell them I don't look at it like I am just working for Disney. I am working for the Lord first, and then for them."

While Keane is deeply committed to his work, he decided early on that he needed to make time for his wife, and later his two children. Leaving work is not always easy. "I may have spent the whole day going over somebody else's work and going to meetings. And finally I sit down and start my scene. I am going to animate Pocahantas diving off the cliff, say, and I can just picture the wind blowing in her hair and how she feels. But it's six o'clock—I've got to get home. You have to decide where your priorities are. Home is real, my wife and kids. This is animation; I can focus on my scene tomorrow."

"For many decades, conservative arguments were kicked to the margins. As a result, conservatives had to come up with reasoned and articulate defenses for their viewpoints on various issues."

—Nancy Pearcey

While Disney is undergoing some cosmic changes, Keane feels comfortable leading the animation department. "There is a genuineness and sincerity in animators that is very unusual in Hollywood. There are a lot of family people in this line of work." Once a week Keane meets with some other Disney employees for Bible study. Although other branches of Disney may release controversial films, the animation department stands apart. "If it was feature animation that was doing a film like *Priest,* I would really struggle with that. Actually, I don't think I would struggle for long—I don't think I would be there. But I see feature animation as separate, as a group of artists producing our own work. I feel very comfortable there. All I can do is focus on the one area that God has given me some say in, and that is in my own work as an animator."

Nancy Pearcey

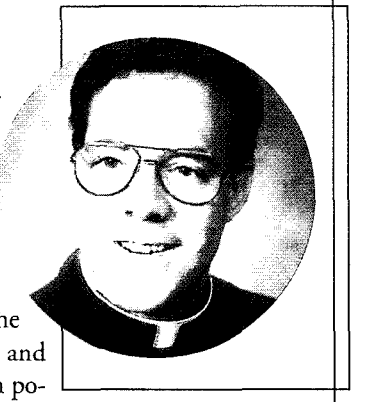
Nancy Pearcey's Christian faith is not segmented to a one-hour period on Sunday mornings; it influences her views on art, culture, science, politics, and family. "I think if there is something that is true about the world, it is true about all of life. And it's got to cover the public and the private. It has to cover the way I act as a citizen, as an employee at my work, and how I act in my community, church, and family."

In high school, Pearcey says, "I began to question my faith and decided that the only way to know the truth was to set aside my faith entirely and to look at it alongside all the other religions and philosophies of the world." She searched for a creed she could live by. "It was a very cognitive thing for me. I became convinced eventually that Christianity did answer the basic philosophical questions better than any other system."

Pearcey's faith has not wavered, but she continues to be an intellectual adventurer. Four years ago, she helped Charles Colson, the former Nixon aide and founder of the Prison Fellowship, establish a broad-ranging national radio show called *BreakPoint.* Within three years, the program had a weekly audience of 5 million listeners. "What we give people is a lot meatier than your average radio program. We delve into the basic principles behind current events. We will take an issue, and try to teach people what the underlying philosophical movement is." Recently, the program has featured series on genetic engineering, virtue, a Christian view of art and literature, and the historical interplay between Christianity and science. "We have done some fairly substantial pieces. And we discovered that people are really hungry for that. It has been encouraging to see that Christians want to understand the modern world in sophisticated ways."

As a working mother with a new baby and a teenager, Pearcey does not have much spare time. But she does pray and read the Bible daily. And she sees cultural conservatives like herself gaining national acceptance. "For many decades, conservative views were kicked to the margins. As a result, conservatives had to come up with reasoned and articulate defenses for their viewpoints on various issues. They are coming back armed with those arguments, and they are putting the proponents of liberalism on the defensive."

Robert Sirico



It's rare to find a Catholic priest today who praises the free market; it's rarer still to find one who also worked with Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden to elect left-wing politicians in California. Yet Father Robert Sirico did just that in the 1970s, when he abandoned the Catholic faith of his childhood and "drifted first theologically and then politically" into crusades for unionism, farm workers, gay rights, feminism, and pacifism.

Then one day "a friend insisted I sit down and read some books on economics and history. By this time I was well out of the church, didn't see myself as a Catholic, and was veering toward atheism. As I came to understand things like Friedrich Hayek's notion of a spontaneous social order, these books set me on an intellectual trajectory that resulted in my abandoning the Left. Those ideas led me to reconsider the whole tradition of the natural law, which in turn led me on a spiritual journey, and eventually back to the faith of my Brooklyn childhood. I went to confession, and recovered my faith." After some time in a monastery, Sirico went to seminary at the Catholic University of America and became a Paulist Father.

Reminded that many youths read libertarian economists like Hayek and Ludwig von Mises and go on to reject religion,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sirico replies, "They haven't read them carefully enough. Embedded in the Austrian school of economics is an intellectual link with medieval scholastic thinkers, a strong kinship with the moral theologians of Salamanca and elsewhere. In a way, economics is a subcategory of moral theology."

Sirico also sees this kinship in Pope John Paul II's so-called "phenomenological" approach to philosophy, a fancy way of saying that philosophers shouldn't start with airy theories about human behavior but ought to begin instead from a clear-eyed look at how men behave in practice. "Even the names of their books make this clear," Sirico argues, noting that Pope John Paul II's central book is entitled *The Acting Person*, while von Mises's economic masterpiece is *Human Action*.

"I don't go to church to debate what the U.N. should do in Bosnia," he says. "I think religion should deal with moral issues in our personal lives."

—Kenneth Tomlinson

Frustrated by the hostility to markets and "abysmal ignorance of free society" he found in seminary, Sirico eventually founded in Grand Rapids, Michigan, the Acton Institute for the Study of Religion and Liberty. Only five years old, the Institute has grown to nine full-time staff members and a $1 million budget. Though run by a priest and named for a famous Catholic—the Lord Acton of "power corrupts" fame— the institute is remarkably ecumenical. A majority of the staffers, Sirico says, are Protestant, and they work with seminaries around the world of every denomination and faith, "Mormon to Muslim."

Asked why he thinks so many clergy are anti-business, Sirico speaks of the clergy's lack of practical experience with business. "They think the way they get money is the way everybody gets money, namely by collecting it. But in fact the money we collect in church had to be produced somewhere before we collect it."

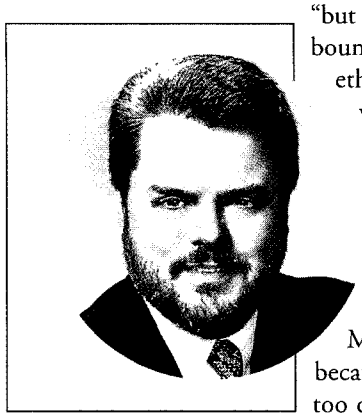
Conversely, when pressed about the anti-religious tendencies of some businessmen, Sirico says, "I guess my vision of this is obscured by living in west Michigan, where we have some of the most successful businesses in the country, and some of the most deeply spiritual people managing them." Of course, it's not uncommon to find a person engrossed in practical affairs precisely because he hasn't discovered the spiritual. But when he finally does glimpse the spiritual realm it takes on a greater purpose than the production of wealth, which is not a sufficient basis for a meaningful life."

An experience Sirico had at the age of five lies close to the core of his dynamism. He lived in a small Brooklyn apartment above Coney Island Avenue in a neighborhood featuring a Joseph's robe patchwork of Jews, Poles, Chinese, blacks, Italians, Hungarians, and more. "Across our window I could see Mrs. Schneider baking some wonderful concoction I later learned was called "rugelach." She beckoned me, and I jumped out the window and ran to her. As I held out my hands to receive the warm pastry, I noticed her right forearm had blue numbers tattoed on it. Later I asked my mother what those numbers were, and she told me the story of what had gone on just a few years previously in Nazi Germany. From that moment on, I had a horror of totalitarianism, of power's corrupting influence, and of any government that treats people as a means."

KENNETH TOMLINSON

If you saw *Reader's Digest* editor-in-chief Kenneth Tomlinson at a reception for the first time and didn't know who he was, you'd never guess that he edits the magazine with the world's largest circulation. He's a quiet, self-confident man who, like the magazine he steers, would never launch a crusade or find heretics to smite.

But *Reader's Digest* has always been a *moral* publication, trying to give people information and inspiration to lead better lives and build stronger communities. "*Reader's Digest* is not a religious magazine," Tomlinson says, "but it's a magazine that, within the boundaries of the Judeo-Christian ethic, focuses on right and wrong." And while Tomlinson doesn't use the term religious right, he's certainly a conservative who is quite religious.



Tomlinson, 51, was raised as a Methodist in Galax, Virginia. But he left Methodism when he was 16 because he considered the church too devoted to left-wing politics. Not until his mid-thirties, when he was the *Digest's* Paris correspondent, did he return to church-going. During this period, Tomlinson's two children were born, and, he says, "raising children brings religion." He became a regular churchgoer at the American Cathedral in Paris, an Anglican church. Returning to America, he's been a church-going Episcopalian ever since.

For Tomlinson, there's a firm barrier between his religion and his politics. He and his family have quit parishes that have become too political. "I don't go to church to debate what the U.N. should do in Bosnia," he says. "I think religion should deal with moral issues in our personal lives."

"I'm not a super-joiner," says Tomilson who has remained detached from most organizations for religious conservatives. He's not sure whether such groups are a good idea. He is, however, a great admirer of some of the leaders of religious conservatism like Michael Novak.

Though Tomlinson is a registered Republican who served as head of the Voice of America during the Reagan administration, he'd much rather have religious people use the lessons of their faith to lead better lives than to pull one lever or another on Election Day. Compared to their secular counterparts, "religious people have to face more frequently the issues of right and wrong," he says. "I don't think they have a responsibility to the nation, but they should do the right thing, and follow the Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE MOVEMENT FOR RELIGIOUS RIGHTS

by **Michael W. McConnell**

Photo credit: UPI/Bettmann (Acme).

In the past few decades, there has been an extraordinary secularization of American public life, especially in the schools. Religious and traditionalist parents are finding that their viewpoints and concerns are ruled out-of-order, while at the same time the schools can be used to promote ideas and values that are sometimes offensive and hostile to their own.

This has inspired many conservative Christian groups to propose legislation, or even a constitutional amendment, to guarantee equal treatment for religious speakers, groups, and ideas in the public sphere. This would end the double standard that currently denies religious speech and practice the protections offered all other kinds of expression. The proposals include two principles:

First, when private persons (including students in public schools) are permitted to engage in speech reflecting a secular viewpoint, then speech reflecting a religious viewpoint should be permitted on the same basis.

Second, when the government provides benefits to private activities, such as charitable work, health care, education, or art, there should be no discrimination or exclusion on the basis of religious expression, character, or motivation. Religious citizens should not be required to engage in self-censorship as a precondition to participation in public programs. (This idea was incorporated in the Senate welfare reform bill.)

Most people agree that government should be neutral toward religion, but the beginning of wisdom in this contentious area of law is to recognize that neutrality and secularism are not the same thing. In the marketplace of ideas, secular viewpoints and ideologies compete with religious viewpoints and ideologies. It is no more neutral to favor the secular over the religious than it is to favor the religious over the secular. It is time to reorient constitutional law away from the false neutrality of the secular state, and toward a genuine equality of rights.

The demand for religious equality is often denounced as a tactic of the so-called "religious right," but it was Justice William Brennan, the leading liberal on the Court in this generation, who wrote that "religionists no less than members of any other group enjoy the full measure of protection afforded speech, association, and political activity generally. The establishment clause...may not be used as a sword to justify repression of religion or its adherents from any aspect of public life" *(McDaniel v. Paty, 1978).*

Unfortunately, Justice Brennan's words now serve more as a description of needed reforms than as a description of prevailing law. Whether because of mistaken views of constitutional law, fear of lawsuits, or actual hostility to traditional religion, school officials and other government functionaries frequently deny the rights of religious citizens with impunity. Usually the victims of these violations lack the courage, resources, or inclination to sue. With surprising frequency, these official acts are upheld by the courts. Even when they are not upheld, the officials suffer no penalty and have no incentive to change their ways.

In thousands of cases, valedictory speeches have been censored because of religious content, student research topics have been selectively curtailed, distribution of religious leaflets has been limited, and public employees have been ordered to hide their Bibles. (See sidebar.) Some of this discrimination is blatantly unconstitutional; some of it has been upheld under current constitutional doctrine; all of it thrives on the uncertainty and confusion of Supreme Court decisions.

Interpretation of the establishment clause of the First Amendment during the past 40 years has wavered between two fundamentally inconsistent visions of the relation between religion and government. Under one vision, known as "strict separation," there is a high and impregnable wall dividing government and religion. Religion is permitted—indeed it is constitutionally protected—as long as it is confined to the private sphere of home, family, church, and synagogue. But the public sphere must be strictly secular. Laws must be based on strictly secular premises, public education must be strictly secular, public programs must be administered in a strictly secular manner, and public monies must be channeled only to strictly secular activities.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the public schools, this means that religious references in the curriculum have been comprehensively eliminated and religious students are forced to shed their constitutional rights at the schoolhouse gate, while advocates of various "progressive" ideologies are free to use the schools to advance their ideas of public morality, even when these ideas contradict the convictions of religious parents. It is no wonder that many parents have come to believe that the First Amendment is stacked against them.

This "separationist" model may be contrasted with what I think is the authentic vision of church-state relations in America: one of equality of rights. Under this vision, no individuals, groups, or ideas are given special status on the basis of their religion or philosophy. All are treated equally. The result is not a secular public sphere, but a pluralistic public sphere, in which every viewpoint and worldview is free to participate and "to flourish according to the zeal of its adherents and the appeal of its dogma," as Justice William O. Douglas observed in *Zorach v. Clawson* (1952).

Under this view, the First Amendment protects the religious lives of the people from unnecessary intrusions of government, either in the form of promoting religion (the "establishment" clause) or of hindering it (the "free exercise" clause). This approach will foster a regime of religious pluralism, not one of secularism or majoritarian religion, and preserves what James Madison called the "full and equal rights" of religious believers and communities to define their own way of life, so long as they do not interfere with the rights of others. It allows religious Americans to participate fully and equally with their fellow citizens in public life, without being forced to shed or disguise their religious convictions and character.

History shows clearly that the establishment clause of the First Amendment was designed to ensure that no religion is given a privileged status in American public life. It was certainly not intended to require the secularization of society. The First Amendment has been turned on its head today: from a guarantee of freedom for religion, to an excuse for official hostility to religion. It is time that the equal rights of religious citizens to speak and participate in public life be clearly recognized and protected in the law.

Michael McConnell, who has argued several major religious liberty cases before the U.S. Supreme Court, is a professor of law at the University of Chicago.

THE CASE FOR A RELIGIOUS LIBERTY AMENDMENT

Conservative spokesman William Bennett describes religious discrimination as "the last respectable form of bigotry in America." Yale law professor and self-described liberal Stephen Carter says religious people are unfairly excluded from public affairs today. Both blame twisted interpretations of the U.S. Constitution.

The First Amendment was drafted to protect religious liberties by forbidding government interference in religion. Many modern politicians and judges have used it to forbid public expressions of faith, however. This, warns Stephen Carter, is exactly backwards: "The danger the separation of church and state guards against is not religion," he says. "It is the state."

Below are some recent examples of how the state now interferes with American religious practice. Many observers believe cases like these collectively call for strengthened Constitutional protections for religious freedoms.

Guidry v. Broussard (1990) A high school valedictorian planned to devote a portion of her graduation speech to the importance of Jesus Christ in her life. The principal ordered her to remove the offending portion; she refused and was eliminated from the graduation program. The district court and the court of appeals upheld the principal's action.

Bishop v. Aronov (1991) A tenure-track professor of exercise physiology at the University of Alabama made occasional references in class to his religious beliefs and offered an optional, after-class lecture entitled "Evidences of God in Human Physiology." The dean ordered him to cease these activities even though professors at the university were guaranteed academic freedom to make personal remarks during class so long as they were not excessive, disruptive, or coercive. The court of appeals affirmed the dean's order.

Settle v. Dickson County School Board (1995) Students were asked to choose a topic for a research paper that was "interesting, researchable, and decent." Among the subjects approved were "spiritualism," "reincarnation," and "magic throughout history." One student, who asked to write on "the life of Jesus Christ," was refused permission, however, and ultimately received a grade of "zero" on the paper. The teacher stated that "the law says we are not to deal with religious issues in the classroom." The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the grade she awarded to the student.

Lee v. Weisman (1992) The principal of Nathan Bishop Middle School in Providence, Rhode Island, invited Rabbi Leslie Gutterman to deliver non-sectarian prayers at its graduation ceremony. Student Deborah Weisman and her father Daniel filed suit, objecting to being subjected to any prayer as part of the public ceremony, even though Weisman did not have to attend the ceremony to receive her diploma, was not required to stand when the prayer was spoken, and was not even required to maintain respectful silence. The U.S. Supreme Court, in a close decision with numerous separate opinions, held that the Weismans' constitutional rights under the First Amendment had been violated by the delivery of this prayer and that the school officials should be enjoined from sponsoring a prayer during future graduation ceremonies.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Perumal v. Saddleback Valley School District (1988) Students at a southern California public high school were forbidden to distribute leaflets inviting other students to their Bible study group, despite a California statute specifically permitting students to distribute petitions and other printed materials. The state appellate court upheld the school's action.

Roberts v. Madigan (1990) A fifth-grade public school teacher was ordered by the assistant principal to remove a Bible from the surface of his desk, to refrain from reading the Bible during the class silent reading period, and to remove two illustrated books of Bible stories from a classroom library of over 350 volumes. The court of appeals upheld the principal's action, holding that the teacher's conduct violated the establishment clause.

Kaplan v. City of Birmingham (1989) and *Smith v. County of Albemarle* (1990) Citizens sought to erect religious symbols on public property where display of nonreligious symbols was permitted, but were refused on the basis of their religious message. In both cases, the courts of appeals in effect agreed that the establishment clause overrides the free speech clause. (Other federal appellate decisions have gone the other way on the same issue. The Supreme Court may resolve the matter this term in *Capitol Square Review and Advisory Board v. Pinette.)*

Hedges v. Wauconda Community School District (1993) An eighth grader attempted to hand out a religious leaflet to her fellow students before school. The principal retrieved the leaflets and ordered her not to distribute such literature again. The school's written policy prohibited distribution of material that was obscene, pornographic, pervasively indecent, invasive of the privacy of others, disruptive, or religious. This was struck down by the district court, but the school board later issued a new policy that is equally discriminatory against religious material.

Loehner v. O'Brien (1994) In Florida, a principal confiscated and destroyed invitations distributed by an elementary school student to her friends inviting them to a church-based alternative to a Halloween party. In this case the courts intervened on behalf of the student.

Garnett v. Renton School District (1993) After passage of the Equal Access Act in 1984, high school students in Renton, Washington, who wanted to form a prayer and Bible study club after school asked permission and were denied. The case took nine years and involved three trips to the district court, four trips to the court of appeals, and two trips to the Supreme Court before the students ultimately won vindication of their rights. At the end, the ACLU and the American Jewish Committee made the extraordinary argument that the school district should shut down its entire extracurricular program rather than allow the students to meet.

Fordham University v. Brown (1994) The Department of Commerce rejected the application of the public radio station operated by Fordham University for federal funding for construction of a new radio tower under the Public Telecommunications Facilities Program, solely because for the past 47 years the station has broadcast a Catholic mass from the Fordham University chapel for one hour each Sunday morning. The district court upheld the decision.

Rosenberger v. Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia (1995) To provide a public forum for their ideas, a group of Christian students at the University of Virginia founded a publication called *Wide Awake.* Although they met all eligibility requirements for school funding, they were excluded because their editorial perspective was "religious." The university funds many publications expressing controversial viewpoints of a secular nature, including gay rights, racist, pro-choice, and Marxist journals, but disallows all publications addressing issues from a religious perspective. In a 5–4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court overruled the university's decision.

Witters v. Department of Services for the Blind (1989) The state of Washington had a voucher program to pay for vocational education of the blind. Larry Witters, an eligible individual, wished to use these benefits to study for a career in the clergy. Because of the religious nature of his proposed field of study, the Washington Supreme Court held that funding would violate the establishment clause. The U.S. Supreme Court unanimously rejected that position, holding that state assistance for religious training does not violate the First Amendment so long as the aid is made without sectarian preference.

Beverly Schnell v. Labor and Industry Review Commission (1991) Beverly Schnell placed a classified housing ad for a "Christian handyman." She wanted a tenant who could help her remodel her home in exchange for low rent. As a Christian, she sought other Christians first, although she stated she would not discriminate against non-Christian applicants. Schnell was penalized $8,000 by a Wisconsin administrative law agency.

Miller v. Benson (1995) A federal district court ruled that the state of Wisconsin may not extend its school choice plan to religious schools. A student qualifying for the program in Milwaukee can attend progressive, Afrocentric, or other schools, but not one where the philosophical orientation is religious.

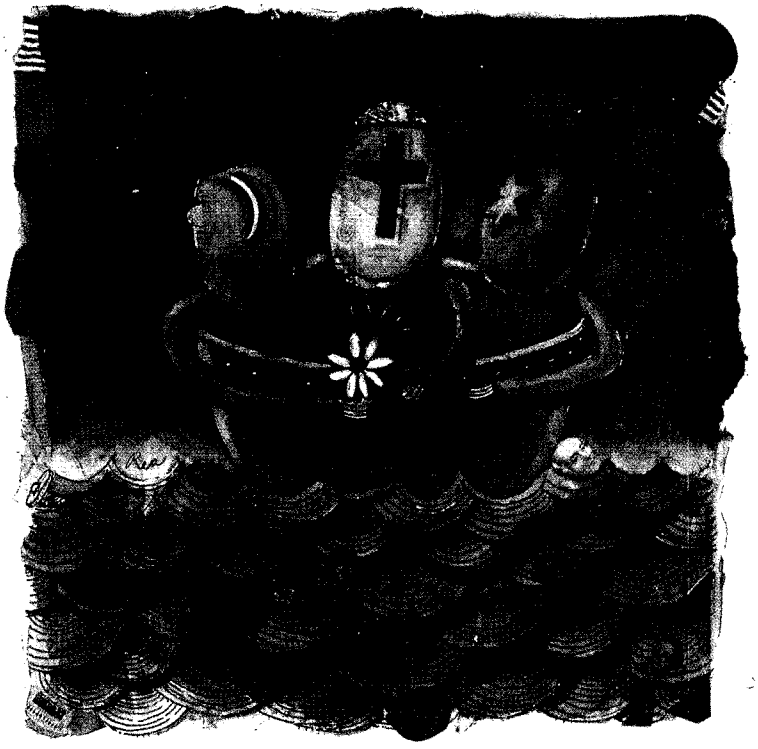
Daniel Lopez v. Tarrant County Junior College District (1994) Student Daniel Lopez was ordered by administrators of his junior college in Texas to stop distributing pamphlets containing Bible verses. College officials threatened him with disciplinary sanctions if he continued to hand out pamphlets on campus, stating that "the campuses of Tarrant County Junior College are not public fora for purposes of free speech activities."

Raines v. Cleveland Young (1994) Raymond Raines, an elementary school student in St. Louis, Missouri, was placed in a week-long detention for bowing his head over his lunch. School officials interrupted the fourth grader on at least three separate occasions when he attempted to say a private prayer over his lunch in the Waring School cafeteria. On each occasion, Raines was taken to the principal's office and told to stop praying over his lunch.

FEMA Disaster Aid (1995) After the Oklahoma City bombing, the Federal Emergency Management Agency refused to provide aid to damaged churches (though they provided much aid during the crisis). Bars, restaurants, bookstores, and other privately owned buildings were eligible for funds, however.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Orthodox Alliance



by Fred Barnes

The head table at the Christian Coalition's "Road to Victory" conference in early September was a mosaic of ecumenism. Seated in front of the podium was Rabbi Daniel Lapin, an Orthodox Jew from Seattle and founder of Toward Tradition, a conservative group. Nearby was the Reverend E. V. Hill, a black Baptist preacher from Los Angeles. Not far away was the Reverend Michael Goodyear, a Roman Catholic priest from Washington, D.C. And of course Pat Robertson, the Christian Broadcasting Network executive and chief honcho of the Christian Coalition, was there. Robertson and his sidekick, Ralph Reed, have long been eager to reach beyond evangelical Protestants and create what might be called the Interfaith Coalition. The demographics of the head table showed they're making headway.

And Robertson and Reed aren't the only religious conservatives bent on transcending centuries of distrust, fighting, bigotry, and anti-Semitism to embrace allies of radically different theology. When Orthodox Rabbi Yechiel Eckstein, president of the International Fellowship of Christians and Jews, began exploring the idea of opening a Washington office, he called on Bill Bennett, the former drug czar and a Roman Catholic, for advice.

When James Dobson, an evangelical Christian, wanted to bolster his attacks on "moral decline," he invited movie critic Michael Medved, an Orthodox Jew, on his popular "Focus on the Family" radio show to talk about Hollywood and films. When Bennett gathered a group in Washington to discuss ways to halt cultural decay, he invited, among others, Catholics (George Weigel of the Ethics and Public Policy Center and Russell Hittinger of Catholic University and the American Enterprise Institute) and Jews (Lapin and Bill Galston, a former Clinton White House aide) and Protestant evangelicals (Chuck Colson of the Prison Fellowship and Lou Sheldon of the Traditional Values Coalition).

"These things are happening all the time and there's an explanation for it," says Michael Cromartie of the Ethics and Public Policy Center. "There's a new ecumenism. Divisions that separate Catholics and Jews and Protestants are breaking down because of the culture war. These people are so concerned about the moral decline of the country that they're willing to bracket aside their doctrinal differences in order to rebuild a culture."

This is a rapidly congealing movement with extraordinary potential. It represents an historic breakthrough, uniting conservative religious groups that bitterly scorned each other until recently. And it may emerge as a majority coalition in American politics. Pollster Fred Steeper of Market Strategies concluded after the 1994 election that the agenda of religious conservatives is shared by most Americans. Reed says when he was hired in 1989 to run the Christian Coalition, Robertson declared: "If you can get the evangelical Christians and the pro-family Roman Catholics to work together, there isn't any bill you couldn't pass in Congress or in any state legislature in the country."

Robertson still believes that. One result is the founding of a new offshoot of the Christian Coalition, the Catholic Alliance. (In studying the demographics of its 1.7 million membership, the coalition had discovered it was already 16 percent Catholic and nearly 2 percent Jewish.) Hired to run the alliance was Maureen Roselli, a former staffer of the National Right to Life Committee. "We're not trying to get the bishops involved in politics," says Reed. "We want to provide a vehicle for lay Catholics who are pro-family and pro-life." The Christian Coalition's Washington office is already such a vehicle: the staff consists of four Catholics and one Jew.

There's a backdrop to this union of Catholics and evangelicals: the pro-life movement. It was predominantly Catholic until the 1980s, when Protestant evangelicals swept in. Still, the

Illustration by Brian Alan Rea

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Catholic-evangelical tie was a tenuous one. In 1987, Bennett was invited by the Reverend Jerry Falwell to deliver the commencement address at Liberty University. Falwell told Bennett: "I'm going to put my arm around you and destroy your career." And a student was quoted in a local paper as expressing surprise that Bennett openly admitted he's Catholic.

"You don't get that now," says Bennett. At the 1994 "Road to Victory" conference, Reed gave Bennett an award as Catholic Layman of the Year. "I didn't know you were authorized to do this," quipped Bennett. At the 1995 conference, Bennett joked in his speech, "I'd have quoted the Bible but I'm not allowed to read it." Laughter erupted. "That's O.K. We wrote it," Bennett then said. That produced more laughter.

The bond between Catholics and evangelicals was formalized in a manifesto signed by three dozen Christian intellectuals in 1994. Called "Evangelicals and Catholics Together," it laid the groundwork for unity on non-theological matters and on a cultural and political agenda. The document grew out of a conference in 1992 in New York sponsored by the Institute on Religion and Public Life. The institute's head, Father Richard John Neuhaus, is a conservative Lutheran pastor who became a Catholic priest, thus a perfect bridge figure. The 1992 session was devoted to lectures on the Pentecostal revival in Central America, where Protestants and Catholics were killing each other.

Hearing this, Colson said evangelicals and Catholics should draft a statement on how to work together, not fight. Neuhaus agreed, and two years later, the manifesto appeared. (A book with three pieces by evangelicals, including Colson, and three by Catholics, including Neuhaus, is in the works.) Among the signers are Robertson, Bill Bright of Campus Crusade for Christ, John Cardinal O'Connor of the Catholic Archdiocese of New York, and Mary Ann Glendon of Harvard University.

Their agenda is similar to the Christian Coalition's. "We will not be discouraged but will multiply every effort...to secure the legal protection of the unborn," they said. School choice and parental rights were warmly endorsed, pornography denounced as "cultural and moral debasement." They also advocated "a renewed spirit of acceptance, understanding, and cooperation across lines of religion, race, ethnicity, and class." And they praised "a vibrant market economy" and "a renewed appreciation of Western culture." Moreover, they insisted all this does not constitute a "religious agenda." Rather, "this is a set of directions oriented to the common good and discussable on the basis of public reason."

That's an important point. While religious faith brings them together, it's obviously not what they agree on. Their goals are cultural and political, not religious. "These people are getting together not to discuss who Jesus is but how to rebuild the moral and cultural fabric of the country," says Cromartie. "There's a common enemy out there, the decadent culture of America," says Bennett. "Heresies aside, schisms aside, theological disquisitions aside, this is the dividing line. America is divided between people who believe there's moral decline and people who say, 'What do you mean by moral decline?' "

Adds Reed: "The reality is the darkness is so pervasive that it forces those of us who share the light to come together in spite of our theological differences." Echoes Lapin: "Despite doctrinal and theological differences, we are unified by a moral consensus.... There is no earthly hope of Orthodox Jewish life continuing in America in security and prosperity if there's a breakdown in society."

The first public campaign by evangelical Protestants, Catholics, and Jews was in the New York City school board races in 1993. The issue was the "Rainbow Curriculum" that taught details about homosexuals and their lifestyle to grade school kids. The leader was Mary Cummings, a Queens Catholic who'd fought the curriculum in her school district. Reed dispatched a Christian Coalition organizer. Lapin provided help. Christian Coalition voter guides were passed out at Catholic parishes. And religious conservatives won roughly half the local school board seats.

Bringing Jews into the movement was important. (Lapin is now one of the most applauded speakers at Christian Coalition events.) But there's a limit on how many will be attracted because it is Orthodox Jews—roughly 10 to 15 percent of American Jews—who have been most willing to affiliate with evangelical and Catholic conservatives. "Jews are not responding with the alacrity Catholics did," says Elliott Abrams, the former Reagan State Department official. Most are secular and liberal, and thus feel threatened by the Christian Right. They shouldn't, argues Dennis Prager, an Orthodox Jew and radio personality in Los Angeles. He tells the hypothetical story of a woman working late who walks to her car down a dark alley. She's approached by eight men. Would it be consolation to her, Prager asks, if she knew they were coming from a Bible study?

Even the relatively small number of Jews who've joined conservative Protestants and Catholics have been influential. They've changed the image of the Christian Coalition. "It's allowed us to shatter the stereotype of a white, male, Protestant, evangelical movement," claims Reed. "And it's changed us as a movement. It's made us a lot more sensitive to issues of religious bigotry toward Jews and Catholics." Diversity has become a conservative Christian value. "We haven't made diversity a litmus test," says Reed, "but it's become highly valued in the movement."

And it's changed the face of the Christian Coalition. At the September conference, three Jews appeared on a panel on "Our Judeo-Christian Heritage: A Partnership for the Future." The moderator was Marshall Wittmann, the Jewish former lobbyist in Washington for the coalition. Journalist Mona Charen moderated a panel on the new media. Lapin spoke on "Jewish and Christian unity."

Given this close contact, religious friction is inevitable. Jews are wary of Christian proselytizing, but there's been little. Lapin says he's been witnessed to three times. Abrams was approached by a man identifying himself as an ex-Marine as he left the hall following a Christian Coalition panel in September. "I'm married to a Jewish woman," the man told Abrams, and the couple worships at a "messianic congregation." Abrams ought to attend such a congregation, the man said. "Those are Christian congregations," Abrams replied. Yes, the man nodded, and he didn't press the point. Abrams, not offended, says it "was not an unpleasant experience."

Fred Barnes is executive editor of The Weekly Standard.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Can Lost Morality Be Restored In Modern Societies?

Lessons From Victorian England

BY GERTRUDE HIMMELFARB

It is often said that the momentous social and moral problems now besetting America are by-products of recent economic and technological changes. Yet Victorian England went through an Industrial Revolution even more consequential than our current post-industrial tumult—because it involved not just economic and technological transformation, but also an urban revolution, a political revolution, and a social revolution, having the potential to subvert authority, tradition, religion, and morality. Yet the Victorians bore these upheavals without experiencing any moral crisis.

Indeed, the Victorians came out of their modernizing revolution with an *accession* of morality. An illegitimacy ratio of 7 percent in 1845 fell to 4 percent by the end of the century; in East London, the poorest part of the city, it was even lower. Crime, drunkenness, violence, illiteracy, and vagrancy all declined. The underclass, known to the early Victorians as the "ragged and dangerous classes," virtually disappeared by the end of the century.

These improvements in the Victorian period contrast dramatically with the deterioration during our own time. In the past three decades alone, illegitimacy and crime in England have increased six fold. The American figures are remarkably similar. Which makes one wonder: What did the Victorians know that we don't?

In 1839, at a time of social unrest, Thomas Carlyle urged his countrymen to pay less attention to the material standards of the people and more to their "disposition"—the beliefs, feelings, attitudes, and habits that inclined them either to a "wholesome composure, frugality, and prosperity," or to an "acrid unrest, recklessness, gin-drinking, and gradual ruin." By the end of the century it was evident that most citizens, even in the poorest classes, had chosen the first path.

Victorian England was shaped not only by the industrial revolution that had started half a century before, but also by a moral reformation launched even earlier. This reformation began in the middle of the eighteenth century with the Wesleyan religious revival, and was reinforced a generation later by Evangelicalism. Wesleyanism was remarkable in several respects. From the beginning, it was as much a movement for moral as for religious reform—as much an ethic as a creed. The ethic had two aspects: the individualistic Puritan ethic of work, thrift, temperance, self-reliance, and self-discipline; and a social ethic of good works and charity. The Wesleyans established societies for the care of abandoned children, destitute governesses, shipwrecked sailors, and penitent prostitutes. They founded schools, hospitals, and orphanages. They led the agitations for prison reform, child labor laws, factory and sanitary regulations, and the abolition of the slave trade. And they did all of this as a religious obligation.

The other remarkable aspect of this religious-cum-moral revival was the fact that it affected all classes of England. After Wesley's death in 1791, the movement split, with the Methodists leaving the Church of England to form their own dissenting sects, and the Evangelicals remaining within the Church. The Methodists appealed primarily to the working and lower middle classes, the Evangelicals to the middle and upper classes. But whatever their social and theological differences, they shared a common ethic that transcended class lines. (And political lines as well; it was as much the ethic of Chartists and socialists as of liberals and conservatives.)

In the course of the nineteenth century, the religious impulse became attenuated somewhat, especially among the educated. But the moral fervor remained; indeed it intensified, as if to compensate for the loss of religious zeal. The secular ethic expressed itself in George Eliot's famous dictum: God is "inconceivable," immortality "unbelievable," but duty nonetheless "peremptory and absolute."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It was this ethic—born of religion, and retaining, even in its secularized form, all the authority and passion of religion—that preserved the moral character of England in a period of intense economic and social change. And not only the moral character of the people but also the social habits and institutions that comprise what we now call "civil society": the family, neighborhoods, churches, self-help groups, local authorities, and a myriad of voluntary societies and philanthropies.

Elie Halévy, the great French historian of Victorian England, wrote seven volumes to account for "the miracle of modern England"—the fact that England was spared the bloody political revolutions that convulsed the continent. Underlying England's political miracle, however, was something deeper: the miracle of social and moral regeneration.

"Morality is not yet a problem," wrote Nietzsche in 1888. But it would become a problem, he predicted, when the people discovered that without religion there is no morality. The "English flatheads" (his sobriquet for liberals like George Eliot and John Stuart Mill) thought it possible to get rid of the Christian God while retaining Christian morality. They did not realize that "when one gives up the Christian faith, one pulls the right to Christian morality out from under one's feet."

A century later, morality definitely *is* a problem, perhaps the most serious problem of modernity. And foremost among the reasons for this is Nietzsche's own explanation: the death of God and morality. In retrospect, one might say that Victorian England was living off the moral capital of religion, and that post-Victorian England, well into the twentieth century, was living off the capital of a secularized morality. Perhaps what we are now witnessing is the moral bankruptcy that comes with the depletion of both the religious and the quasi-religious capital.

This raises a critical question: Is there any prospect of *re*-moralizing a society once it has fallen into moral decadence? What examples can we look to in the past as precedents for such a regeneration? The most obvious one is Christianity itself, which insinuated itself into the Roman Empire at the height of its decadence. Or there is the Protestant Reformation, directed against what was seen as a corrupt Catholicism. Or the Wesleyan revival, reacting against the libertinism of Restoration England. Or the Great Awakening movements in the United States, repudiating the irreligious and dissolute tendencies in society.

It is no accident that all of these were religious-cum-moral movements. Nor is it an accident that the "Puritan ethic"—which incorporates such secular virtues as work, thrift, temperance, and responsibility—comes to us with that religious title. Whatever philosophical justifications might be adduced for a purely secular ethic, the historical fact is that mankind's most important movements of moral reformation originated as religious movements.

Gertrude Himmelfarb is professor emeritus of history at the Graduate School of City University of New York. Her most recent book is The De-Moralization of Society: From Victorian Virtues to Modern Values *(Knopf, 1995).*

Until a few years ago, one might have considered such reflections moot, on the grounds that an age as resolutely secular as ours could not sustain a serious religious movement. The recent emergence of religious conservatism, however, should give us pause. Today's "religious right" displays considerable heterogeneity and breadth, and is as much a moral as a religious movement.

It is tempting to compare a phenomenon like "Promise Keepers"—which has brought hundreds of thousands of American men together, in city after city, for an entire day of prayer and pledging of marital fidelity and familial responsibility—to the open-air meetings where the Wesley brothers preached and gained converts. Yet even if, as is likely, America's current religious revival turns out to be confined to a small minority, it may also prove, like other such revivals, to be disproportionately important to the public life of the country.

It may be all the more important if, following the example of the Victorians, it finds common cause with secularists. This is happening already, as secular and religious conservatives (of all denominations) unite to sponsor reforms designed to strengthen the family, curb illegitimacy, and reduce crime. They are even beginning to cooperate on such issues as prayer in public education and public funding for religious schools. And perhaps more significantly, they both look to the institutions of civil society to revitalize American culture.

The idea of devolving power to civil society is in effect an attempt to find a secular basis for a moral reformation. If so many of our well-intentioned government policies have failed us by promoting irresponsibility and immorality, the reasoning goes, we should learn to rely instead on the private institutions that mediate between the individual and the state. There is much to be said for this argument. But it must be noted that some of the institutions prominent in civil society today are not especially responsible or worthy. Teachers' unions, social work agencies, private foundations, cultural and civic organizations, even some of the mainline churches, are all too often so committed to the dominant "progressive" ideology that they have become part of the problem instead of the solution. Even the family, the keystone of civil society, has not been immune to the prevailing moral disarray.

Civil society itself has to be remoralized as well as revitalized. And the government can contribute to those ends—which is why the conservative political resurgence is now so important. Legislators are as much moral instructors as are preachers and teachers, and a reform of the welfare system or of the criminal justice system has wide moral and social repercussions. But government activism too has its limits.

What we are beginning to learn, and what the Victorians took for granted, is that most social problems are also moral problems. What we have yet to learn is how to bring all of society's resources—religious and secular, private and public, civic and governmental—to bear upon those problems. We may also learn the most heartening lesson. If the Victorians, through all the turmoil of the Industrial Revolution, could experience a moral reformation, surely we in post-industrial America can do no less.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Religious Conservatives, Up Close V

Bryce Christensen

As a college professor, Bryce Christensen gets a first-hand glimpse of the changing mores of American society. "Students write about things that I find incredible," he says. "There used to be more of a consensus on certain things, and the consensus was defined by religion," he notes. "Americans used to be pretty much of one mind that premarital cohabitation was wrong. The same thing for divorce. It was a matter of religious belief. Whether you were Catholic, Protestant, Mormon, or Jewish, divorce was wrong."

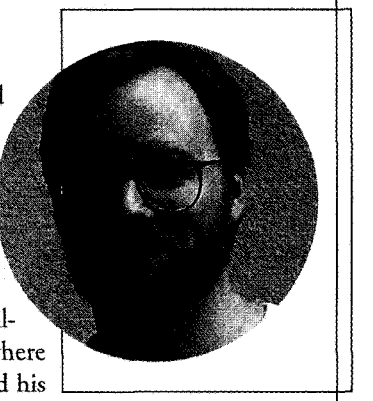
Christensen grew up in Utah, in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (better known as the Mormons), and attended Brigham Young University. "When I was younger, before I served a mission for the church, church attendance was something I did in large measure because my parents expected it and because that was where I saw my friends. It was part of a social pattern, it was not a matter of personal conviction." But during his mission in upstate New York, Christensen's faith ripened. "I did baptize some people and it was a great joy, and I am very grateful for that experience. It was a profoundly life-shaping, life-changing experience."

Christensen is now married with three children and teaches as an English professor at Rockford College in Illinois. He also works at the Rockford Institute, where he researches, and edits *The Family in America,* a newsletter. He sees the dangers of mixing religion and politics. "One must be careful about how that happens. It is possible to turn one's politics into a holy crusade and demonize everyone who disagrees with you. It is also possible to allow one's political objectives to become more important than salvation or devotion. I think it's unfortunate that religion has come to be seen as a Republican thing. It ought not be partisan."

As a member of a religious minority, Christensen is particularly aware of the dangers of intolerance. His ancestors were driven out of Illinois during the 1840s by anti-Mormon prejudice. "There are certain people here that I would have to characterize as anti-Mormons, but their numbers are not large. Most people are tolerant and respectful, and a great many people are simply indifferent on matters of religion. Indifference and tolerance are not the same thing." Where Christensen grew up in Utah, the church defined the community. "I went to church with all my neighbors. Here, I know my next door neighbors on either side and a couple other people on the block. There is less cohesiveness. But people are civil and treat us well. I don't feel like we are a persecuted religious minority."

Christensen sometimes notes a broader disdain for religious views, however. He observes that "it is almost to the point where beliefs that derive from religion are viewed with suspicion or are second-class convictions. Conclusions reached through economic analysis, sociology, psychology, and so forth are given ample space in public discussion, but religious convictions are now viewed with condescension in many forums and sometimes with open hostility. Why should that be so? Why does one have to check one's religious principles at the door when you begin to consider questions of law and public policy?"

Will Dickerson



Will Dickerson certainly did not expect to end up in Budapest, Hungary. He had just completed his Ph.D. in medieval history at an Ivy League university, and expected to find a college position. But he found a calling in Budapest instead, where for the last two years he and his wife Diane have lived, along with their two children, teaching English and spreading the word of God.

Dickerson is a Christian who is not attached to any particular denomination. "There was never a time in my life where I did not believe, but in high school I had to do my own thinking and sort things out for myself." An international mission program known as OMS brought his family to Hungary. They scrape by on a monthly salary of $250, but find their work gratifying.

"For 50 years or so people in this country were told by the communists that there is no God, and that the purpose of human existence is to create a worker's utopia. And that the individual human life has value or does not have value based upon its usefulness to the state. When communism died in 1990, it left a great spiritual vacuum here."

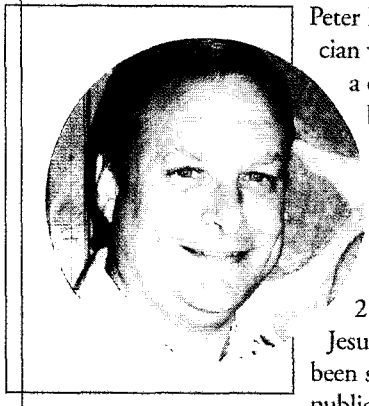
"What we do is we use the Bible and other Christian literature to teach English. In the process of teaching English, we ask the students to think about what they believe and why." Dickerson teaches high school students during the school year, and soldiers in camps during the summer. He believes that both groups are receptive to discussing the Bible and religion. "They want to know the reason why I believe, and why they exist. I try to help my students think about the life that lies ahead of them. What is it they want to do and how are they going to accomplish it? What is the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

purpose of their life? Are they simply sophisticated animals or are they something different and higher, do they have a soul?"

"Culturally, Hungary is going through its 1960s right now. Students feel that what their parents and grandparents say is irrelevant for them because their world is so different. Their hopes have been destroyed. The only alternative they see to communism is Western materialism. It's a mixture of '60s rebellions with '90s nihilism." Dickerson sees a real emptiness in many Hungarians. He is hopeful, though, that more people are returning to the church. The growth has not been dramatic, but some young people are coming. "The grandchildren of the last generation of believers are investigating."

Peter Hopper



Peter Hopper was a professional musician working in New York City under a contract with Columbia Records, but he felt incomplete and unsettled. "I was trying to make music my life, but it was not really filling me. I knew that I needed something more when I first heard the Gospel." When he was 21 years old, at a rock concert for Jesus, Hopper found what he had been searching for. "In the middle of a public meeting I asked Christ to come into my life and take control. My life really changed from that moment on." In the last 20 years, Hopper has continued in the music business, and now owns a recording studio. He is also the pastor of a local church.

Hopper's studio in Freeville, New York, records all sorts of music, including movie soundtracks and pop CDs, but "we love to do Christ-centered work—that is the reason the studio was built." He refuses to record music with blatantly anti-social and anti-religious messages. "We occasionally reject certain music that comes in because of its content. If it is something that is abusive to women, we decline that kind of thing. We would also decline to work on music that has to do with glorifying drugs or that is obviously biblically immoral."

For Hopper, it is important that his three children not be exposed to destructive music. "Kids are affected by what they are given to listen to, to view, to meditate on in their minds. I think one ought to be very careful in what he gives to himself or others."

When Hopper is not at his recording studio, he can probably be found at the small non-denominational church called the Reach Out For Christ Family Worship Center. While he took some time off to build his business, this is his fifteenth year of pastoring. "We talk about the love of Jesus and tell people the Good News," he explains. Hopper thinks young people frequently try to find happiness through drugs, alcohol, and relationships. "Those things will never fill you. Every person, I think, is born with a hole in their heart that only God can fill." He also tries to help care for the poor, following Jesus' instructions. "Jesus said the poor you will have with you always. So we are trying as a local church fellowship to do what we can on a local level to see that people are helped, and that includes both spiritual feeding as well as physical feeding and help."

Hopper thinks the country is experiencing a religious revival. "While we wait for Christ's return, I think that we are going to see a lot of wonderful changes. I really do believe that, and I hope for that for my kids, kids of my friends and family, my congregation, and our country."

Kay Cole James

As Virginia's Secretary of Health and Human Resources, Kay James is in charge of 14 state agencies, 17,000 employees, and a $4 billion budget—and significantly responsible for the welfare reform bill, the most dramatic in the country, that has just become law in her state. "We really believed that we needed to change it from being an entitlement that someone was owed for all their lives into something that was temporary assistance for someone who needed a helping hand."

Welfare payments are now limited to two years, with one year of transitional benefits. "Because we want to help people learn to be responsible and not keep producing children that they can't take care of," the state will not give mothers additional payments for children they have while they are already on welfare. "But we will help the mother locate the father and get payment from him." Underage mothers are required to stay in school, and to live with a parent or guardian or in an adult-supervised group home.

James was drawn into politics by work in the pro-life and pro-family movement. She is a Presbyterian who has never tried to hide the prominent place faith plays in her life. "My faith permeates my life. My faith is who I am, it's not something that's a separate piece that fits somewhere off by itself."

As an African-American politician, James says, "we conservatives have done a very poor job of gaining credibility in the black community. While many blacks are conservative ideologically, they are not conservative politically." Liberal African-American leaders have not kept up with changes in the country, though, James says. "Many of them are trying to address problems that existed 20 or 30 years ago, and as a result they are offering stale solutions."

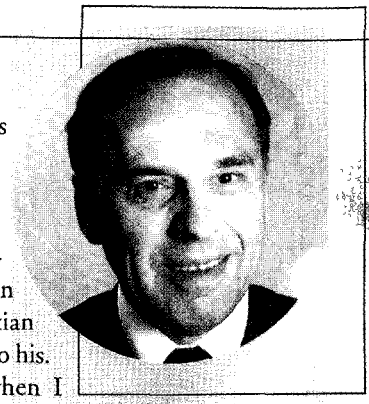
Photo Credit: Mattox

About her political plans, James says, "I have never had an outline or agenda for my life. If I can be the best secretary of Health and Human Resources in the history of the Commonwealth of Virginia, I can worry later about what I will do next. Because if I do that well, I will have lots of options."

Marvin Kosters

Economist Marvin Kosters caught his first glimpse of Christian faith in a small township near New Holland, South Dakota. As a child there he attended what is commonly called the "Dutch Reform Church" (properly, the "Christian Reform Church"). The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



ethnically Dutch church seeks to strengthen the institution of the family and impart a commitment to ethical behavior, Kosters explains. Unlike many who are born again or converted to their Christian faith, Kosters grew steadily into his.

"There was a time when I was in graduate school and immediately thereafter when people would look at me as someone who ought to know better than to be committed to religion," says Kosters. Only the boldest were explicit in this opinion, but many of his fellow students had clearly decided that "anyone smart enough to get a Ph.D. in economics from a good university should turn away from religious commitments." Ironically, Kosters' biggest critic on this point later converted to Mormonism.

At the same time, Kosters had to defend his career choice from certain peers in his church. "Some people are inclined to think that economics is the science of greed—and they prefer to say 'greed' rather than 'self-interest'," he smiles. Kosters persevered, though, and earned an economics Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. Later he served on the president's Council of Economic Advisers in the Nixon and Ford administrations. Today he is the director of economic policy studies at the American Enterprise Institute, where he studies the U.S. labor market, living standards, income distribution, and other issues.

Although many view religion and science as irreconcilable, Kosters finds that the two realms coexist peacefully in his life. Though he recognizes that a person's faith is intimately joined with his conscience, he cautions against approaching governmental policy issues with the certainty that a "Christian perspective lends special insight into what's just, right, true."

When Kosters returned to speak at his undergraduate alma mater—Calvin College in Michigan—he found it difficult to satisfactorily answer the questions of students. "What they wanted to hear was explicit, detailed ways in which Calvinist religious commitments shaped my view of policy and politics." He told them that "taking seriously one's religious commitments makes it necessary to think about public policy's effects on institutions and individuals." But he was reluctant to formulate rules more exact than that. His innate Dutch Reform caution and modesty saw to that.

Michael and Peggy O'Dea

One reason Michael and Peggy O'Dea treasure children may be that they couldn't have any. "Every month, Peggy was down in the dumps," Michael says. After five years of marriage and being told they would never conceive, they were finally able to adopt Molly. A couple of years later, they adopted a second child. Hoping to adopt more easily, they even moved from their native Detroit to Indiana and Texas.

Then in 1978 they returned home and said, "Let's try again to adopt here. That's when the agency asked if we'd adopt a special-needs child, which we did, our Patrick. He had a tumor on his brain and was very sick. We took him to therapy for a year, and then when we went back for a CAT scan, the tumor had miraculously disappeared. Today he's 15 years old, weighs 190 pounds, and plays football and hockey for one of the top schools in the Detroit area."

That marked a turning point for the O'Deas. "We decided we really had to give a lot more back to the community because of how blessed we were with our adopted children, and that's when we took in our first pregnant mom. That very month when we took in Jeanine, Peg got pregnant, on our fourteenth wedding anniversary, after all the doctors said she never would." Since then, Peggy has given birth to another child, and they adopted a sixth.

Meanwhile, they continued to take in young mothers. "We would become a family for a young pregnant mother; she would become like our daughter." The mothers first came from an institutional home, often because they weren't working out there, and later from Catholic Social Services. Michael started speaking in schools and talking to teens. "Then in 1984 I read about groups across the country putting together crisis pregnancy centers on the streets, which sounded terrific. I thought, 'All we need to do is open up a storefront shop and advertise, and maybe these girls will come to us before they go to the abortionists.' We got started, and it worked."

Now the O'Deas run two centers in Detroit. The total budget for Mother and Unborn Baby Care Inc. runs $85,000 per year. All the staff are volunteers, with active regulars numbering about 45, though many others help out as time permits. They serve hundreds of women a year, and "a lot of boyfriends, parents, and husbands, too," Michael says.

Women who come in are offered free pregnancy tests, "then they look for support—counseling, or in some cases financial assistance. Maybe rent for a period, or food, or basic necessities. We have baby furniture and baby clothes. We'll find homes for them if they need—institutional homes or private homes—or agency referrals for women who think they may want to place their babies up for adoption." But "the big thing" these women want, Michael stresses, is "emotional support when faced with that crisis in their life, a pregnancy they didn't expect."

Asked about the criticism that centers like his "trick" women who are looking for abortion, Michael laughs. "There's nothing tricky about what we do. We have a sign that says, 'problem pregnancy.' We run an ad in the yellow pages under Abortion Alternatives. When they come into this center to get help with their problem, that's exactly what we offer."

Michael served in Vietnam, earned a bachelor's and master's degree, and is now self-employed as a health care consultant. He and his wife are cradle Catholics, and he's sure "that has an effect

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on our outlook." But he adds that "a lot of my beliefs and my wife's are just American. I believe in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and it's the first of these that makes the other two possible."

Michael's political activism recently led him to run for the state senate as a Democrat. His interest in health care has caused him to worry in recent years that "politicians and health care providers were looking at not taking care of handicapped babies," because they didn't "want to spend the money on a person they don't think has a good chance of living a normal life."

In the welfare reform debate, Michael says he's had "a real disagreement" with Catholic church leaders who oppose reforms that would end payments of extra money for additional children born to unwed mothers on welfare. "Giving incentives to teenagers to have babies by giving them monthly checks is absurd. My solution is, channel money to organizations like ours through tax credits for charitable donations of time and money. That's not a bunch of bureaucrats getting the money—it goes directly to serve the client. We do believe these women need help, but they need help from people who are going to get involved in their lives, rather than just give them a check, because most of that money, we've seen, doesn't go to take care of their babies. A lot of times it winds up going to boyfriends, or to things they don't need."

"You want to at least give kids the opportunity to pray. A moment of silence is a viable solution. Kids are not told at all what to think and what to say. That is left to them and their parents."

—Eli Silberstein

Eli and Hannah Silberstein

Rabbi Eli Silberstein and his wife Hannah have started their own school. "We founded it in order to provide a proper education for our children," says Hannah, a graduate student in psychology. Both Silbersteins teach in the school, which runs from kindergarten to sixth grade. "It provides the regular curriculum of any other school. But it also offers a variety of Jewish educational topics," says the Rabbi. Both of the Silbersteins were raised in Jewish schools, and they want the same for their seven children.

Rabbi Silberstein also guides Jewish students at Cornell University and Ithaca College. "We teach them about things in Jewish tradition they may not have learned or did not have access to in their schooling," he states.

The Silbersteins are Hasidic, a variation of Jewish Orthodoxy. Hasidim observe the Sabbath from sundown on Friday to sunset on Saturday. During this time they do not work, drive, or use electricity. Hasidim keep kosher in their diet, and they place a strong emphasis on family life. The Silbersteins were born into Hasidic Judaism, and report that this "affects every aspect of our existence, from education, to raising children, to career."

The Silbersteins both support the idea of having a moment of silence in schools. If there was an actual spoken prayer, they fear, the teacher might emphasize one religion over another. "You want to at least give kids the opportunity to pray. A moment of silence is a viable solution. Kids are not told at all what to think and what to say. That is left to them and their parents."

The Silbersteins believe that confidence in a higher order and greater good is what children are missing most in public schools. "Schools teach as fact uncertain theories like evolution which are at best tenable hypotheses. And they teach them with the kind of unquestionable and dogmatic fervor that the religious establishment is accused of applying. Creationism is taught as something totally absurd, not even considered as an alternative," says Rabbi Silberstein. Any concept of God has been wholly excluded from public school education, he notes. "I would not want my kids subjected to that kind of environment. We see the results."

The Silbersteins are very much aware of the need for tolerance in American society. "We shy away from the idea of an established religious framework in the government or public educational system which might value one particular religion over another," says the Rabbi. At the same time, Hannah suggests, "there are certain universal principles which are shared by any good society." Her husband adds that "we have a deteriorating situation because we have failed to identify and promote common moral principles." Faith is necessary to insure the survival of any society, Hannah believes. "In order for people to prosper they have to believe in something higher than themselves. A society where people focus only on themselves is the type of society that ultimately self-destructs."

"I am very concerned with the future of this country," Hannah reports. "I think guarding the future involves thinking about children, their education, and their well being. Children need loving homes, strong schools, safe neighborhoods. These are instrumental to the future of our country."

Rabbi Silberstein notes that many people came to the United States specifically for it's willingness to tolerate religious practice. "I think the U.S. in comparison is very generous. This country has been marvelous, really comfortable. Jews can live here," he states, "without being afraid of being harassed."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AMERICA'S NEWSPAPER

The Washington Times

NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION

April 17 – 23, 1995

$2.50

Coalition to offer 'Contract' for families

By Larry Witham and Laurie Kellman
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Christian Coalition, the nation's largest political coalition of religious conservatives, will deliver a "Contract With the American Family" to Congress when it returns from the Easter recess.

"The surveying is in the final stages, and we think we'll have something in a week or two," said coalition Executive Director Ralph Reed in a telephone interview. "We will present it to Congress when they get back."

In a speech to 150 students at Kennesaw State College in Atlanta on April 11, Mr. Reed outlined seven points that he called "the gist" of what a final document might contain.

That same day House Speaker Newt Gingrich was being feted at a banquet across town.

The Reed speech came after a massive mailing by the Christian Coalition in February and March to solicit priorities for social reform and raise money to pay for a survey of 2 million "Christian voters."

Sen. Bob Dole, left, accepts a "key to the state" from Gov. George Pataki, center, and Sen. Alfonse D'Amato after speaking at a fundraiser April 10 in New York.

Dole decries assaults on values

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DES MOINES, Iowa - Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole accused the entertainment industry of poisoning the minds of American youth while government assaults the values and moral codes taught in churches public schools would go far toward restoring a moral society.

"Voluntary prayer is forbidden in our classrooms," he told more than 1,000 people in the atrium of the state Capitol. "The moral code we nurture in our churches and synagogues is under attack from our government. We need our schools to once again reflect the Americans, Mr. Dole said, "One of the most alarming aspects of government intrusiveness has been the assault it has waged on our values."

At campaign stops on April 11 in Columbus, Ohio, and Des Moines, Mr. Dole railed against the entertainment industry.

"Every parent knows," Mr. Dole

Pattern seen as defections continue

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The growing list of Democratic defections to the GOP is sending shock waves through the Democratic Party's leadership, which fears further congressional losses in 1996 and beyond.

Democratic officials deny the desertions are part of a long-term political realignment favoring Republicans. But some Democratic strategists and rank-and-file activists think it's going to get worse for the Democrats before it gets better.

"Yes, it's going to get worse. It's going to go on for a while. You're going to see some more switches by some of these fellows who want to stay in office and who think that changing parties is the way to do

Rep. Nathan Deal

Heart Of America.

America is standing up again. New voices are being heard. And fresh ideas about traditional values are being embraced by America's new mainstream. This is the spirit of The Washington Times—for years the only newspaper bold enough to cut through the establishment's liberal media smokescreen. The Washington Times serves up the news the way Americans want to read it—and now every American can. The Washington Times National Weekly Edition brings you the best of The Washington Times each week, right to your door. This is news and commentary your heart and head can agree on. **Subscribe to common sense.**

❑ ABSOLUTELY. Send me Washington's hottest read for just 77¢ per issue.*

Get your own direct line to Washington's people in power—free!

Every 1- and 2-year prepaid subscription comes with your personal copy of Capital Contacts, a 190-page spiral-bound guidebook that lists fax and phone numbers for every member and key staffer in Congress, major government agencies, top White House officials and much more.

Call today or clip and mail this coupon to The Washington Times National Weekly Edition.

(Please print.) ❑ *2 YEARS for only $79.95 ❑ 1 YEAR $59.95 ❑ 6 months $34.95

Name:

Address:

City: State: Zip: Phone: ( )

Please Check One: ❑ MasterCard ❑ VISA ❑ Discover ❑ American Express
❑ Check/Money Order Enclosed ❑ Bill Me

Credit Card #: Exp. Date: Signature:

Make checks payable to: **The Washington Times National Weekly Edition,** PO Box 96601, Washington, DC 20090

For Lightning Response 24 Hours A Day, **Call 1-800-363-9118.**

Please mention your express code → **AJRACA**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Transcript

WORDS WORTH REPEATING

NOBEL ECONOMIST ON THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION TO POLITICS

On September 11, University of Chicago professor Robert W. Fogel, a winner of the Nobel Prize in Economics, gave a Bradley Lecture at the American Enterprise Institute. As a disinterested observer, he argued that the political revolution occurring in Washington cannot be understood apart from the resurgence of enthusiastic religion across America. TAE*'s editors have prepared a brief summary of his argument and appended a few highlights from the question period. An in-depth presentation of Prof. Fogel's argument will be available in a forthcoming book, tentatively entitled* The Political Realignment of the 1990s and the Fate of Egalitarianism, *which is derived from his Kuznets Lectures, presented at Yale University in 1992.*

The major shift now taking place in American social and economic policy has its origin in the rising influence of enthusiastic religion among voters. Not only was there a rise in the proportion of such religious believers within the electorate between 1982 and 1994, but the party preferences of believers shifted sharply from a roughly even Democrat/Republican split to a 74–26 percent alignment in favor of the Republican party. To understand political trends and future economic developments, one must understand the cycles of religiosity in American history and the reform movements they spawn.

The typical cycle lasts about 100 years and occurs in three phases: religious revival, followed by a political reform movement, and then breakup of the political coalition engendered by the revival. The cycles, which overlap, typically engage only a minority of the population, but what they lack in numbers they make up in enthusiasm.

The first Great Religious Awakening, with such famous preachers as Jonathan Edwards, began in the mid-eighteenth century and helped bring about the American Revolution. The second, begun in the early nineteenth century, brought forth the abolitionist, nativist, and temperance movements and spurred on the Civil War. The third awakening began at the turn of this century and had two warring forks. On one side were traditionalists who became known as Fundamentalists. On the other, winning, side, were modernists who saw the Gospel's promises of the Kingdom of God as something to be fulfilled not through traditional piety but modern science, especially social science. They emphasized "social sins" like poverty rather than personal sin, and advocated income redistribution, unionism, civil rights, and women's rights. The modernists' Social Gospel message laid the basis for the welfare state.

The fourth Great Awakening began around 1960, in rebellion against forms of self-indulgence that titillate the senses and destroy the soul. It extols citizens to piety, individual responsibility, hard work, and a simple life dedicated to the family. During the 1970s, political movements growing out of this revival took up such ills as abortion, drunk driving, and high taxation. In the late 1980s, a broader movement called the Christian Coalition grew up. By comparison to predecessors like the Moral Majority, it is theologically flexible, willing to make compromises on key issues, and prepared to reach out to economic conservatives by integrating tax reduction and smaller government into its agenda as part of its stress on individual responsibility.

Pursuing this agenda would not necessarily mean turning back the clock on race relations, universal education, equal opportunity for women, or religious freedom, in part because women, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians are already an important part of the religious movement. But existing programs that aim at equality of income rather than equality of economic opportunity are likely to be cut back, since the theory that cultural crises can be resolved by raising incomes has been given a long trial and has turned out to be incorrect.

Over the past century, the real income of the poorest fifth of the population has increased 13-fold—more than twice the general population's gain—yet problems like drug addiction, illegitimacy, and violent teenage deaths are far more severe than a century ago. Cultural reform, believers conclude, must be pursued primarily by individuals, with churches and spiritually infused groups like Alcoholics Anonymous succeeding where government bureaucracies have failed. This reemergence of confidence in the power of personal compassion is a major factor in the new populism, with its demand to return power to the people.

The spread and increase of education helped bring about today's burgeoning populism. The downward transfer of a form of capital—human capital, or educated labor skills, whose value now greatly exceeds the value of all privately held land and industrial capital—has narrowed the gap between elites and the lower classes. The emphasis on education will probably continue during the fourth Great Awakening, since evangelicals have a long record of promoting schooling at all levels.

Q: The Great Depression certainly had something to do with the politics of the 1930s. So how dominant do you consider the religious explanation in explaining American history?

Fogel: There is a strong connection between technology and the ethical movements of a period. Also, periods of great unemployment destabilize existing ethical systems. Well before the 1930s, the Social Gospel movement was promoting unionism and income redistribution, then these things came to political fruition because of the new alignments promoted by the Great Depression. So the external world—technology and economic conditions—affects which of the various ideologies contending for power will ultimately become predominant.

Q: You said professional women were part of this realignment, which also admires the traditional family where the husband is the bread earner. Will this lead to conflict?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fogel: I think you're right that there is a conflict within churches over this issue. But nevertheless the proportion of professional women who embrace enthusiastic religion is increasing at a very rapid rate. And I think that this issue will be resolved in a way that permits women to pursue both substantial careers and to be traditional housewives at the same time. To a large extent I think the computer is going to be the instrument that brings it about, as we increasingly get away from centralized places in which technical work has to take place. The open "flex-time" programs introduced by many corporations also permit both husbands and wives to integrate careers and parenting.

Q: You mentioned the growth of enthusiastic religion, what some people might call more traditional religion; but what about the effect of countervailing trends in so-called mainline churches, which have become receptive to a less literal interpretation of the Bible?

Fogel: There's always religious conflict in the United States. The mainline churches are accommodations to liberal secular ideology, which reached its high point probably in the mid-1970s. Typical of this was Harvey Cox, a theologian at Harvard University, who was a prominent figure in the "God is dead" movement. Now Harvey Cox has just written a book on the glories of Pentecostalism. What we're now witnessing even in the mainline churches is a resurgence of enthusiastic religion, at least as an aggressive minority.

Q: Is increased immigration of non-Christian people to the United States having any effect on Christian religion developing in America?

Fogel: Islam is now the largest non-Christian religion in America, representing about 4 percent of the population. By 2050 the majority of the population will be non-Protestant, so we're going to be a different country than the Puritans had in mind. Yet no country in the world comes close to our capacity to integrate people of diverse ethnicities and religions into a common whole. The Puritan influence remains incredibly strong today. We have the most Protestant Catholicism in the world, the most Protestant Judaism in the world, and I think there's a good chance we'll have the most Protestant Islamic religion in the world.

AMERICAN FOUNDERS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION

America was founded as a religious sanctuary. The Pilgrims viewed themselves as fleeing Babylon in order to found a New Jerusalem. When it came time to design a national seal, Benjamin Franklin (one of the least religious of the founders) proposed the image of Moses leading his people through the Red Sea. During our first half-century as an independent nation, the most frequently quoted book in American political literature was the Bible.

"Even those Americans most fiercely opposed to anything that smacked of an establishment of religion and hostile to every vestige of a discrimination between the sects were prepared to promote religious belief," notes the distinguished historian Paul Rahe. "No one supposed that the federal government, much less the states, should be strictly neutral in the contest between agnosticism, atheism, and religious faith." Thus the House of Representatives, the very day after it gave the Bill of Rights its approval in September 1789, called on the president to declare "a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, to be observed by acknowledging, with grateful hearts, the many signal favors of Almighty God."

As the sage Alexis de Tocqueville observed in 1835, "religion in America takes no direct part in the government of society, but it must be regarded as the first of their political institutions." Following are some citations documenting the importance of religion to our nation's development.

***Continental Congress,** 1778:* "True religion and good morals are the only solid foundations of public liberty and happiness."

***Benjamin Franklin** (urging the Constitutional Convention, in a moment of deadlocked controversy, to call on God's assistance), 1787:* "Have we forgotten that powerful Friend? Or do we imagine we no longer need His assistance?... God governs the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to ground without his notice, is it probable that an Empire can rise without his aid?... I therefore beg that henceforth prayers imploring the assistance of Heaven...be held in this assembly every morning, before we proceed to business."

***James Madison** (drafter of the Constitution's First Amendment):* "We have staked the whole future of the American civilizations, not upon the power of government...[but] upon the capacity of each and all of us to govern ourselves, to sustain ourselves, according to the Ten Commandments of God."

***John Adams** (2nd United States President):* "The highest glory of the American revolution was this: that it connected in one indissoluble bond the principles of Christianity with the principles of civil government."

"We have no government armed with the power capable of contending with human passions unbridled by morality and religion.... Our Constitution was made only for a moral and religious people. It is wholly inadequate to the government of any other."

***First United States Congress** (which passed the Bill of Rights), 1789:* "Religion, morality, and knowledge are necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind."

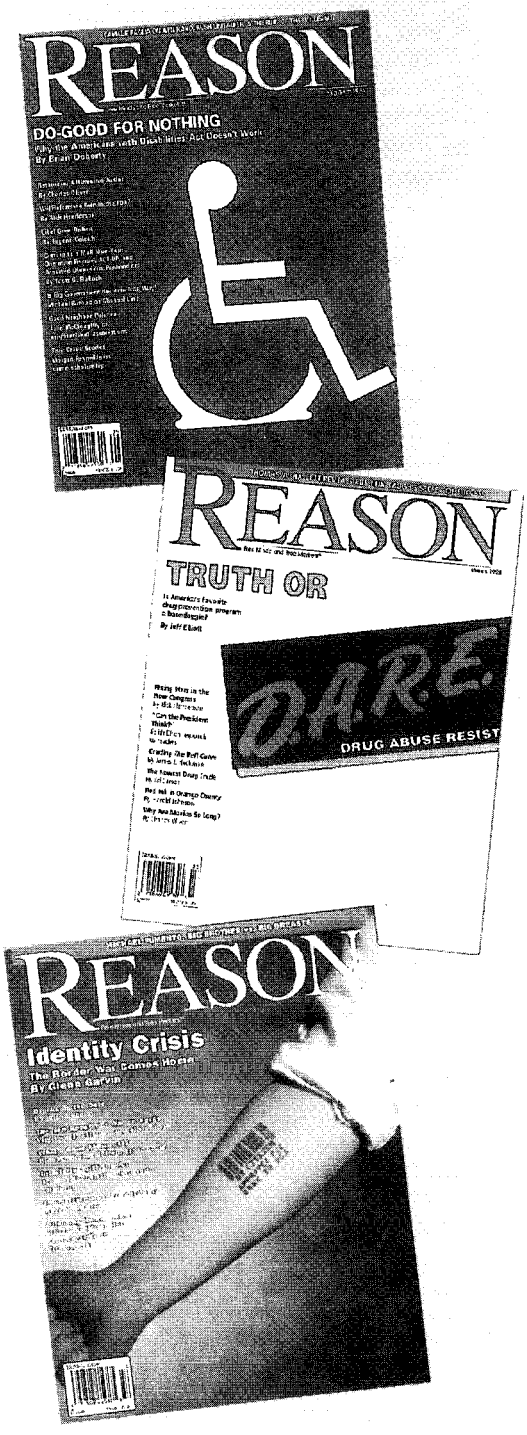
***George Washington,** Farewell Address, 1796:* "Of all of the disposition and habits which lead man to political prosperity, religion and morality are the indispensable supports.... In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of duty of men and citizens.... Let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion.... Reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle. It is impossible to govern rightly without God and the Bible."

***Daniel Webster,** speech at Plymouth Rock:* "Our ancestors established our system of government on morality and religious sentiment. Moral habits, they believed, cannot safely be trusted on any other foundation than religious principle, nor any government be secure which is not supported by moral habit...whatever makes men good Christians, makes them good citizens."

Abraham Lincoln: "It is the duty of nations, as well as of men, to own their dependence upon the overruling power of God and to recognize the sublime truth announced in the Holy Scriptures." *(Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address, a speech of fewer than 700 words, quoted the Bible in three places and invoked God six times.)*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Virgin Material



Recycling may be OK for paper—but what about the ideas printed on it?

REASON readers knew about Internet issues when "wired" was what you got from too much coffee. About date rape hysteria when Camille Paglia was an obscure art-school professor. About John Kasich years before Hill correspondents could pronounce his name.

From the ambush at Ruby Ridge to Hong Kong films, from the political uses of children to the decay of the jury system: *Reason* got there first.

No wonder *Boston Globe* columnist David Warsh says, "Under editor Virginia Postrel, this lively and peripatetic magazine has earned the right to be taken seriously. You never know when one of its concerns is going to turn up in the mainstream press."

Tired of recycled Beltway leftovers?

Call **1-800-998-8989** to subscribe today. Get a full year (11 issues) of virgin material for just $19.95.

Basic subscription price $26. Outside the U.S., please add $8.

REASON

3415 S. Sepulveda Blvd, Suite 400
Los Angeles, CA 90034-6064
1-800-998-8989

AVM95

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Real Life

THE DAILY WORK OF AMERICANS

A DAY IN A HOME SCHOOL

by Holly Kinch

What I do for work every day some say borders on criminal. We have seven children in our family and we homeschool.

This morning I am awakened by three-month-old John wanting to nurse. I pull him into bed and he contentedly begins to satisfy his ravenous appetite. As I am dozing back to sleep, Mary, the two-year-old, scampers in my bedroom and jumps in bed. She is not settled until she is snuggled as close as possible against the small of my back. So much for any more sleep for me. John is nursing and sleeps again. Somehow I slip out without disturbing the two bodies on either side of mine.

I dress and ready myself for the day before getting breakfast. Christina, age 4, greets me with a sleepy "good morg-ing, mama." Elisabeth is up now too. Still rubbing the sleep from her eyes, she is at the table writing a "story." She is six. Pancakes are ready. The girls and I breakfast together, enjoying the maple syrup Uncle Peter and Grandpa made this winter.

Elisabeth begins the breakfast talk. "Why did you say I don't have a Barbie?" Hmmm. This dreadful subject again.

"When was that?" I query.

"When Anna wanted to know what I wanted for my birthday, you said I didn't have a Barbie and I do have one. Jasmine is a Barbie." I recall telling Anna's mother I wanted to avoid Barbie dolls as long as I could. She was gracious enough to find a different birthday gift to Elisabeth's liking.

"What makes Jasmine a Barbie?" I ask.

"She has tips."

Tips! Where has my little girl heard such language? I pry a bit more. "What do you mean, 'tips'?"

In innocence she looks up and replies, "She stands on her tips, you know." Sigh. Good thing I did not launch into the God-looks-on-the-inside, man-on-the-outside speech. Or worse, make assumptions about her older brothers' or friends' talk. Ah, such innocence.

It is 9 A.M. Time to get the boys going.

The girls help clear the table and clean up. Then they busy themselves playing mommy, sweetie, and baby—their indigenous version of playing "house" and all-time favorite activity. I did not teach them this; it comes naturally to the civilizing sex.

Not so our boys. They chew their bread at dinner into the shape of guns and shoot at each other. They wrestle and race and play Type-A games like Risk and Monopoly. The barbarian older brothers never played house.

In the "cave," Caleb is already awake reading one of Matt Christopher's books. James and Joshua slowly waken as I open just one curtain and begin reading. If Dad wakes them they get the angry-drill-sergeant routine and have to hit the floor running. But I start with a couple of chapters from Matthew.

Josh wants to know if the Romans required a poll tax. The notion comes up because Josh had earlier asked Dad why Margaret Thatcher was finally defeated. "Is that why when Jesus told Peter to take the money from the fish's mouth it would be enough to cover both their taxes?" Good question. So follows a discussion of taxation, the New Deal, and the Contract with America. We recall that Jesus wants us to pay our taxes and to help the needy. (Not necessarily at the same time, I carefully explain on conservative principles!)

The girls interrupt this discussion (only) twice. Mary checks to make sure we are still here, a matter of frequent concern to her young mind in a big house. Christina is coloring and needs the pencil sharpener.

After the Bible we plunge on through *Oliver Twist* until about 10. Dickens was paid by the word, and rendering him aloud is a lengthy enterprise. But it's a good read.

Now the real juggling act begins. The girls want to go outside. Elisabeth needs to practice phonograms and reading. Mary is stuck trying to get into her shirt and is crying for help. James wants me to give him his writing lesson. Caleb has a question about unit multipliers. Josh is trying to engage me over ideas from the *Conservative Chronicle* about welfare.

Oh no! John is waking from his baby nap and he is not happy! This is typical. But just as typical is the settling down again. Mary is happy when I fix her shirt. Elisabeth is reading more easily, not the struggle of a few months earlier; after 10 more minutes she will go out to play in our pleasant back yard. James opts for math until I can get to help him. Caleb skips to the next problem. Josh keeps talking while I try to keep up with his questions. Someone settles the baby; perhaps it was James.

The older children, even the barbarian boys, do help with the younger ones. Even if they do not "play house," the boys have a genuine affection and natural care for their younger siblings. They have treated the newborns like a miraculous gift from God. And each one has been exactly that, and a blessing and a reward.

The pace continues through to lunch. Lunch itself is a cozy, home-cooked affair, with nary a tray in sight. We have sand-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

wiches and leftovers from yesterday's dinner. The federal government has not contributed any subsidies, stockpiled cheese, or surplus milk. My children do not have lunch money to forget, lose, or have stolen. We enjoy ketchup and have never been concerned whether it is a vegetable. All of this is considered "not being in the real world" by opponents of homeschooling.

It is 1 P.M. Everything must stop! This is my sacred hour of afternoon peace. Caleb has the turn today to read to Mary and Christina. He tucks the girls in for their naps, using a squeaky high voice. Is he picking his style up from me?

The older children and I walk through the daily spelling quiz. We also work on new words and attempt an editing assignment from the curriculum book. They work quickly because they want to read. They like to read. Reading and language in general are relished in our house. Wit and creativity are shared and enjoyed by all. Learning and life are one natural experience, not split between house and school, between teacher and parent.

The state gets its feelings hurt when you opt out for a homeschool. In most places the public education establishment (from whom you have taken away business) gets to regulate you. The degree of regulation, which varies from state to state, is a political compromise hammered out over the last two decades between newly organized homeschoolers on the one hand and a combination of unionized teachers and their local and state bureaucrats on the other. Periodic reporting and standardized testing is usually mandatory, but home visits by snooping social workers are generally forbidden.

Since John is asleep again the boys and I can read uninterrupted. We journey back to nineteenth-century London with Oliver being grabbed by that wicked Sikes and hauled back to Fagin. We discuss whether Mr. Brownlow has given up on Oliver. As a girl I saw a movie of *Oliver Twist,* but never read the novel. How sweet to discover the richness of these characters with my children.

Here in twentieth-century America we homeschoolers feel less like Dickens characters than like refuseniks from a Solzhenitsyn work. We regularly hear stories of heavy-handed actions against homeschooling families by public school authorities. We pay money to a legal association that blows the whistle against such intrusion; the association promises to defend us if necessary. We participate in a local association of homeschooling families too, where we do "support group" things as well as monitoring the state authority.

"Do you think we can read *David Copperfield* next?" Caleb wants to know. I think "L-O-N-G book" and evade the question. Maybe a biography of Dickens would be better. My only commitment is, "We'll see." They groan, knowing that in parent-language this generic reply means we do not have the money or time for whatever is at stake.

ALL OF THIS IS CONSIDERED "NOT BEING IN THE REAL WORLD" BY OPPONENTS OF HOMESCHOOLING.

We can't stop in this spot so we read a bit past 3 P.M. The boys head outside for badminton. I do hope all the academic work is done.

After Elisabeth delivers lunch to Richard, who is working upstairs in his office, she and I do some housework together. "Mom, you were right about reading. I didn't like doing the phonograms every day, but now I can read and it's fun." I'm glad she has discovered that. And how kind to let me know I was right.

Mary awakens from the nap first and is still snuggly. We settle in the captain's chair and read *Frog and Toad* together. Now she is off to find earthworms with Elisabeth. Christina gets up and realizes her sisters have gone. She zips off to catch up. John and I go up to visit with Dad for a bit before getting dinner.

The girls come in, wash, and set the table. Now everyone is seated. It is Monday; that means Christina's day to thank God for the meal.

"James, what did you do in school today?" Dad asks as we pass the food. "Schoolwork," he replies as usual. Giggles all around at this ritual conversation.

After dinner Mary gets the Bible so Richard can read the chapter from Proverbs for the day. She and Christina act out the lessons, which is great fun for all. Josh gets the guitar and tries to remember the chords Dad has been teaching him. Following a few tunes, the girls clear the table and the boys wash dishes and vacuum the carpet.

At bedtime we do more reading, hear some music tapes, and pray before tuck-in. Then Richard and I settle down together for some privacy.

I am a mother at home teaching my children. I'm not employed, but I love my work.

Holly Kinch is a graduate of Cornell University. She and her husband Richard, who designs and sells computer software, live in Florida.

"DOING SOMETHING" IN A CATHOLIC SCHOOL

by Brother Bob Smith

I grew up in Chicago during the early 1960s, and my parents taught my sisters, brothers, and me to appreciate and respect all people. We learned to seek out the common things that make us neighbors, not to focus on minor differences like race, religion, or income. When I am asked why I choose to minister today in the place I do, I always refer back to an incident that happened early in my life.

I remember walking with my mother and another woman on Madison Street in Chicago one afternoon, and standing outside a large public high school. As we waited for the light to change, the school dismissal bell rang, and a door banged loudly open. Our attention was immediately grabbed by a young man as he ran from the school down the middle of the street. I was struck by the fact that he didn't look for oncoming cars. A mob of 100 or so other students seemed to nab the boy in mid-air. They threw him to the ground and then proceeded to "stomp" him with a vengeance. Many of the students literally *walked* on the young man, and footprints of blood followed people as they completed their senseless deed. As a young child watching the crazed frenzy of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mob and the defenseless boy, the only thought in my mind was "Why doesn't somebody do something?"

Then my mother and her friend pushed me against a building and told me to wait. As I stood watching, they shoved their way through the mob and dragged the boy to the curb. That act of courage by my mother and her friend left a permanent mark on my life. No one honored them for their actions, and some would call them "nuts" for what they did. But they saw an injustice and acted. The fact that the boy being stomped was white and my mother and her friend black did not make a difference. Those two women were Christians, and their Gospel values were being tested. Dante said in *The Inferno* that "the hottest places in hell were reserved for those who remained silent in times of moral crisis."

Three years ago, I decided, in the name of the Catholic school I serve as principal, to try to "do something" to help low-income students in inner-city Milwaukee. The public school system in Milwaukee is poor. The drop-out rate is over 50 percent, and the typical student who does graduate leaves with a D+ average.

When I first got involved, Milwaukee had an experimental voucher program that excluded religious schools. The State Department of Public Instruction fought against having any voucher system, and reluctantly began to administer it only after losing a court challenge it pursued all the way to the State Supreme Court. After the state administrators finally put together their vague list of conditions schools needed to meet in order to accept vouchers, we believed that we were eligible under the criteria. Although we are a Catholic school, over 50 percent of our students are non-Catholic. More than 65 percent live at or below the poverty level. Demographically, Messmer High School is quite similar to Milwaukee's public inner-city schools.

But that is where the comparison ends. The graduation rate at Messmer is 98 percent. Of that number, over 80 percent go on to college. We have virtually no problem with drugs or violent activity, and do not have students bringing weapons into our building.

We felt that our school environment could save a few voucher students from almost certain academic death in the public school system, so we applied, and to our surprise were told that we were eligible. Within a few days the Milwaukee papers got the news and printed a front-page story about the Catholic school becoming eligible for public funds. They invoked the specter of other religious schools enrolling in the program and threatening the public school status quo. What happened in the next year was truly unbelievable.

First, we received from the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction a request for data stretching to three single-spaced pages. Then two teams of "investigators" descended on us. The state had not investigated any other school that applied to the program, but all of our classrooms, financial records, textbooks, trophy cases, and yearbooks were pored over for three full days. The bookcase in my office was examined when I went out to get coffee. In addition to mentioning in their report a picture of the Last Supper on my office wall, the state investigators counted the number of crucifixes in classrooms, listed any known Catholic donors who contributed to our school, and mentioned sports awards won in the 1960s in the Catholic Athletic Conference.

THE MILWAUKEE PAPERS GOT THE NEWS AND PRINTED A FRONT-PAGE STORY ABOUT THE CATHOLIC SCHOOL BECOMING ELIGIBLE FOR PUBLIC FUNDS. WHAT HAPPENED IN THE NEXT YEAR WAS TRULY UNBELIEVABLE.

The bureaucrats did *not,* however, talk to any teachers, students, or parents about the quality of our educational program. They never noted that although the majority of our students are non-Catholic, the church provides large tuition subsidies to our school.

When our request for equal participation in the state voucher program was eventually denied, I went to Madison for an appeal hearing. It turned out to be frighteningly like a criminal trial. The state's legal counsel interrogated me for 7 1/2 hours! "What is the significance of different colored clerical shirts for your job, as seen in various yearbook pictures?" "Who writes the daily prayers read each day during morning announcements?" Most puzzlingly: "Doesn't the Pope ultimately control our school?"

I found the questioning sometimes amusing, often very sad. Our only intention was to help needy students who voluntarily selected our school to get a high quality education. The voucher from the state would pay for barely half the cost of educating each student. The rest we were willing to make up ourselves.

As I've observed thousands of our youth either drop out or graduate from public schools with dysfunctional skills, I have felt in many ways like I did when I was a small child watching a man be trampled. I have asked myself again, "Why doesn't someone do something?" The difference here is that it is not a frenzied mob that is doing the damage but educated and well-paid adults working in the public sector.

My story does have a happy ending, though. Over the past two years a number of people have joined together to break the gridlock on educational freedom in Wisconsin. Governor Tommy Thompson, Bradley Foundation head Michael Joyce, Milwaukee Mayor John Norquist, and State Representative Polly Williams have gotten passed through the state legislature the first school choice voucher program that places religious schools on equal footing with others. In late July, the governor came to Messmer High School to sign the bill.

Great forces will be marshaled in an attempt to derail this new law in the courts. But we have powers on our side too. In addition to some brave political leaders, we have the greatest authority of them all—God Almighty.

Brother Bob Smith is principal of Messmer High School in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Flashback

TO KNOW NOTHING OF WHAT HAPPENED
BEFORE YOU WERE BORN IS TO REMAIN EVER A CHILD—*Cicero*

Saint Dorothy

Photo Credit: UPI/Bettmann

Dorothy Day was a bohemian socialist journalist who converted to Catholicism in the 1920s. Her father founded Hialeah racetrack and she found Christ, and she never wondered who got the better bargain.

In 1933 Day published the first edition of her newspaper, the *Catholic Worker,* and hawked it on the streets of lower Manhattan, her base, for a penny a copy—which it still sells for in 1995, 15 years after Day's death.

"Sow kindness and you will reap kindness. Sow love, you will reap love." This was her credo, and though in her humility she could not conceive of it, she is likely some day to be canonized as a saint of the Roman Catholic Church.

Day called her politics personalist, libertarian, distributist, and anarchist. The Catholic Workers, she wrote in her autobiography *The Long Loneliness,* were "for ownership by the workers of the means of production, the abolition of the assembly line, decentralized factories, the restoration of crafts, and ownership of property." To this end they set up hospitality houses and small farms (several of which are still extant) "where the works of mercy could be practiced to combat the taking over by the state of all those services which could be built up by mutual aid."

Day scorned the dehumanizing poverty industry and the "bigger and better shelters and hospitals" in which "misery was to be cared for in an efficient and orderly way. Holy Mother the State," she warned, was "taking over more and more responsibility for the poor. But charity is only as warm as those who administer it."

Day was no theoretical do-gooder, a lover of humanity and scourge of its constituent parts. She saw the face of Christ in even the most wretched alcoholic or lunatic. Neither was she a harridan in a hairshirt or a wispy seer in search of a halo. When an acolyte asked her, "Do you have ecstasies and visions?" an amused Day replied, "Visions of unpaid bills." She did work side by side with a man she regarded as a visionary, though: the irrepressible Frenchman Peter Maurin, from whom Day learned that "he who is a pensioner of the state is a slave of the state."

Day was an unstinting critic of the welfare bureaucracy, from the New Deal through the Great Society. As she told her friend Robert Coles, "We don't happen to believe that Washington, D.C., is the moral capital of America.... We believe we are doing what our Founding Fathers came here to do, to worship God in the communities they settled. They were farmers. They were craftspeople. They took care of each other. They prayed to God, and they thanked Him for showing them the way—to America!"

"You people are impractical, they tell us, nice idealists, but not headed anywhere big and important. They are right. We *are* impractical...as impractical as Calvary." She remembered an earnest young man who was "representative of all the government bureaucrats and of all the agnostic reformers who want to get the poor off the streets and into various programs and projects funded by the Congress.... He was headed for Washington, and...he told me once—joking, but he was serious, also—that if he could ever become secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, he would try to abolish poverty in America. I asked him why he wanted to do that. He recited all the statistics he knew, and they did sound awful, but I had the feeling he wasn't thinking of any particular poor person, but of all those numbers and percentages. I told him...I was sure that when poverty is abolished in America there will still be plenty of poverty."

Day insisted, "We cannot love God unless we love each other, and to love we must know each other. We know Him in the breaking of bread, and we know each other in the breaking of bread, and we are not alone any more. Heaven is a banquet and life is a banquet, too, even with a crust, where there is companionship. We have all known the long loneliness and we have learned that the only solution is love, and that love comes with community."

Late in life, Dorothy Day was asked if she regretted making the slum her home. She answered: "For some of us anything else is extravagant; it's unreal; it's not a life we want to live. There are plenty of others who want that life, living in corridors of power, influence, money, making big decisions that affect big numbers of people. We don't have to follow those people, though; they have more would-be servants—slaves, I sometimes think—than they know what to do with. Isn't there just a small space in our world, our culture, for men and women who want to follow...the Lord?"

—Bill Kauffman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIRST THINGS
edited by
Richard John Neuhaus

Discover America's Most Respected Journal of Religious Discourse RISK FREE!

There is no better source of news and commentary on religion and public life than First Things. Each big issue brings you the ideas, trends, and people that are shaping religion and culture today.

First Things is always serious, always lively. Refreshingly ecumenical, First Things explores the conflicts and common ground between and within religious communities, and does so with scholarship and civility.

Edited by Richard John Neuhaus, influential theologian and author of *The Naked Public Square*, First Things offers the most incisive essays, opinions, and reviews published today.

Try First Things for yourself. Mail the coupon below to start your no-risk Trial Subscription.

12 Issues of First Things RISK FREE

☐ **YES!** I'd like to try this sprightly, outspoken source of ideas and insight on religion and society. Please enter my 12-issue Trial Subscription (one year, plus two bonus issues) to **First Things** for only $19.95 — *more than $25 off the newsstand price.*

NO RISK, FULLY GUARANTEED If I am not absolutely delighted with my **First Things** subscription, I'll receive a full, prompt refund on all unmailed copies.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

6AE!95

FIRST THINGS • P.O. BOX 3000 • Denville, NJ 07834

☐ **Payment enclosed**

☐ **Bill me**

Charge my: ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard
Card # _____
Expiration Date _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BookTalk

HOLOCAUSTISM VERSUS GOD

By Mayer Schiller

Why Should Jews Survive? Looking Past the Holocaust Toward a Jewish Future
By Michael Goldberg (Oxford University Press) 191 pages, $23

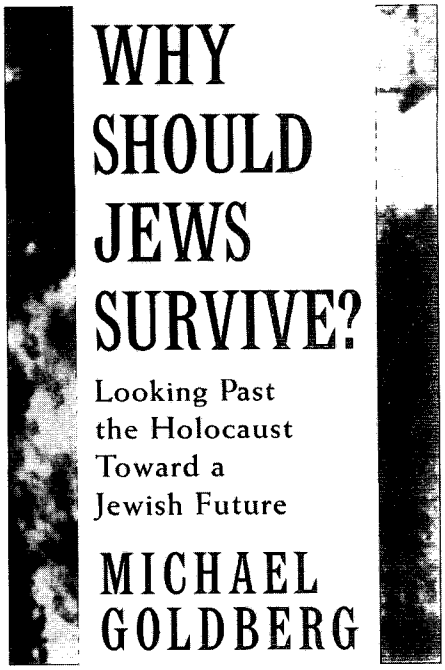
Legend fails to record what happened to the brave lad in the well-known folk tale who observed out loud that the king had no clothes. This is probably just as well, for if we knew of his probably gruesome end there would be even fewer souls courageous enough to challenge the primary axioms of every age. In *Why Should Jews Survive?* Rabbi Michael Goldberg takes on two towering dogmas of our time—that the Holocaust represents the defining event of Jewish history, and that it provides the most compelling basis for Jewish survival. To Goldberg, the Holocaust is a "cult" with "its own tenets of faith, rites, and shrines." It is also a "cult" that is unforgiving to those who question its basic tenets, so we must admire Goldberg's courage. Yet, courage is not the only virtue God calls upon man to pursue. Fearlessness must ultimately be devoted to wisdom and faith. And by that standard, Goldberg's critique, although telling at times, emerges as markedly flawed.

The central theme of the book is that American Jewry has replaced Judaism with a secular faith centered around the Holocaust and demanding of its adherents only one imperative: Jewish survival. Goldberg favorably quotes sociologist Jonathan Woocher's characterization of the central precept of "civil Judaism" as "You shall love survival with all your heart, and all your soul, and all your might." Goldberg readily grants that "civil Judaism's leaders are well-intentioned people," but maintains that "they have lost track of what counts as Jewish survival. Historically, at least, to identify as a Jew meant serving a particular God in a particular way." Those critical particulars, Goldberg maintains, "civil Judaism has discarded."

According to Goldberg, one of the subdogmas of this survivalism is that the state of Israel has appropriated "the authority—and the allegiance—that once belonged to God." His solution to these misunderstandings of what Judaism represents? "Repentance…changing one's ways…turning back to God."

Why has devotion to the Holocaust and Israel replaced the Jewish religion in the minds of most contemporary Jews? Ever since the Enlightenment, Jews and Christians alike have had to battle a jealous and arrogant secularism that soon controlled both the state and society's mainstream means of communication. In the case of Jews this proved particularly difficult, for the Enlightenment threatened them not only with its intellectual dogmas, but also by removing the traditional social barriers that maintained Jews as a distinct people. Since World War II, the ranks of Jewry have been increasingly decimated by the twin forces of assimilation and loss of faith. Into this gap the Holocaust and Israel were inserted. Those factors allowed Jews to maintain a separate identity while demanding nothing of them in terms of belief and practice.

There were negative aspects to this new Jewish identity beyond its displacing of God. As Goldberg puts it, "The devotees of civil Judaism and its Holocaust cult share the conviction that, ultimately, Jews can count neither on God nor on other, non-Jewish, human beings to make…



[themselves safe in]…a world that will never cease to be hostile to Jewish existence…. So, in the last analysis, theirs is a triune faith: There is no God, humanity is incorrigible, and the world is irredeemable." This negative view of non-Jewish mankind is needed in order to convince Jews that they must go their own way, devoted to survival at all costs.

Yet, the question must be raised: why try to survive as a people in the first place if the God of Abraham does not exist? As Goldberg is quick to point out, Jews who become Episcopalians are far safer than Jews who become Israelis. Does survival alone, relating to no power outside of itself, possess the force necessary to compel Jews to go on as Jews?

Unfortunately, while Goldberg is correct in noting that the Holocaust and Israel taken in isolation are rather meager fare, the vision of God that he would substitute for them is a sadly truncated one. He proposes that we replace the Holocaust "master story" with the "story" of the Exodus from Egypt and the giving of the Ten Commandments. Thus far we are on safe ground. We search in vain, though, to determine whether Goldberg feels that the "Exodus story" and the subsequent Revelation are to be viewed as historical events. Was the Torah actually given at Sinai? Did God literally speak? These are questions that Jews throughout their history have an-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

swered in the affirmative. With Goldberg we are unsure whether the biblical text is to be seen as true or merely a useful myth. Indeed, when Goldberg ventures into a digression on the need to update Jewish law (particularly as it affects "women's issues") we find that he is willing to reject central elements of Jewish law wherever they run counter to the fashionable currents of the age. Talk of "master stories" will simply not do if they are merely handy tools.

Goldberg is quite clear that the Judaism he advocates is not based on the truth of Revelation and the binding authority of rabbinic law. After calling for a return to faith he gets down to specifics. "Somebody, no doubt, is wondering, 'What kind of Judaism would this be—Conservative, Reform, Orthodox, Reconstructionist?' It would be any of them if synagogues affiliated with these movements were willing to reorganize around a shared covenant."

But Reform Judaism denies God's authorship of the Bible. Conservative Judaism rejects the rabbinic law. Reconstructionists doubt the Lord's very existence. Holocaustism and these creeds share a crucial common feature. They do not worship the God of their fathers.

As far as his critique goes, Goldberg has much to offer. He is right that the story of Jewish suffering cut off from faith is a tragic one that ultimately has nothing to offer to future generations. Zionism without God is already running out of gas in the Middle East. A Jewishness based on virulent anti-gentilism casts a dark shadow over the Jewish heart and condemns its followers to an existence of hate and fear forever. As Goldberg notes, one of the central tenets of Holocaustism is that "you can't trust any of them—not the ones who fought with the Allies against the Nazis, not the ones who sheltered Jews from the Nazis, not even the ones not yet born." This is perhaps the most horrible sin of Holocaustism. It apes the sin of anti-Semitism by placing collective guilt upon all gentiles. Due to its demonization of all non-Jews it views with fear and loathing any gentile loyalty to their religions, nations, and races. Since all gentiles are forever potential Cossacks or Nazis, institutional Jewry seeks to defeat all gentile social enthusiasms that go beyond the realms of entertainment, economics, or secular politics. We are called upon to deny the very group-based humanity of gentiles. Thus, Holocaustism uses the reality of Jewish persecution at specific times and places in history to advocate a Jewish political agenda for all time based upon the imperative to reduce gentile society to a civil, neutral, and secular compact.

The duplicity of this approach becomes obvious when the second half of Holocaustism—support for Israel—reveals its core teachings. Those teachings are anything but pluralist and neutral. They advocate a specifically Jewish state. Fair men should not begrudge this desire. But why should its advocates not grant the French or the English a similar right? Here the Holocaust returns. Gentiles must never be trusted to take their religious or racial identities seriously. And so we are thrust into a seemingly endless—and dishonest—conflict.

Rabbi Goldberg is to be commended for having opened this dilemma to public light. For his efforts he can expect little gratitude from those who determine Jewish public posture today. Yet his speculations must someday be pursued to a deeper level to do them justice and he must give the God of his own faith a more serious hearing.

Rabbi Schiller teaches Talmud at Yeshiva University High School for Boys in New York. He is the author of numerous books and articles.

THE PINSTRIPED PRIESTHOOD

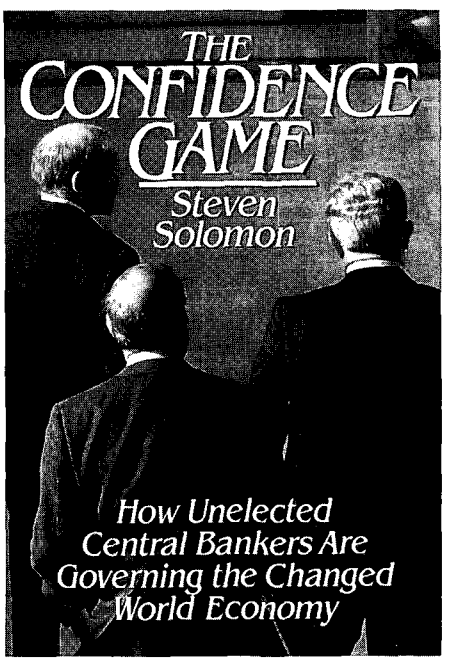
By John McClaughry

The Confidence Game: How Unelected Central Bankers Are Governing the Changed World Economy
By Steven Solomon (Simon & Schuster: New York) 512 pages, $30

The lightning-fast movement of trillions of bits of financial data down global electronic pathways has overcome the regulatory capacity of the planet's political and financial statesmen. Liquid capital has leapt state boundaries. This silent new menace will surely wreak havoc on our secure financial world, says Steven Solomon, and it must be stopped.

Solomon happily finds one great counterforce: a gallant little band of gray-haired warriors in pinstriped suits who meet annually in a hidden aerie in Basel, Switzerland. Modestly eschewing fame and glory, defeating the schemes of inept and spineless politicians, imposing ever more stringent controls on self-seeking businesspeople, these are the world's Central Bankers, dedicated to controlling the grave threat called "stateless capital."

Solomon, a former staff reporter for *Forbes,* chronicles this titanic clash in great detail. He commits some factual whoppers (James Baker did not serve as secretary of Commerce; none of the political parties of 1912 advocated a central bank; there is no



Woodrow Wilson Room in the White House). But *The Confidence Game* is nonetheless a sweeping achievement as contemporary history. We learn some interesting things from his reporting:

• When Fed chairman Paul Volcker (who is virtually deified in this book) departed the 1979 IMF meeting in Belgrade before its conclusion, "panic hit world financial markets. Gold shot up $25 an ounce. Rumors circulated that Volcker had resigned or died." It would not be surprising to learn that unscheduled trips by Volcker to the men's room produced $10 movements in the gold price.

• The mission of the Fed in the 1970s was to "inject and withdraw enough re-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

serves to keep Fed Fund interest rates at a level it believed consistent with maximum productive investment at lowest inflation." No wonder those in charge of this system are referred to as a priesthood.

◦ Central bankers loathe deregulation of financial markets because it makes it more difficult for them to tell everybody else how much money and credit should be created or rerouted.

◦ If the world's interbank clearing house (CHIPS) can't close every single interbank transaction, it cannot close any: the clearing system freezes up, with earth-shattering consequences. One wonders what a small but well-designed computer virus, or even an unexpected power outage, would do to the world's financial system.

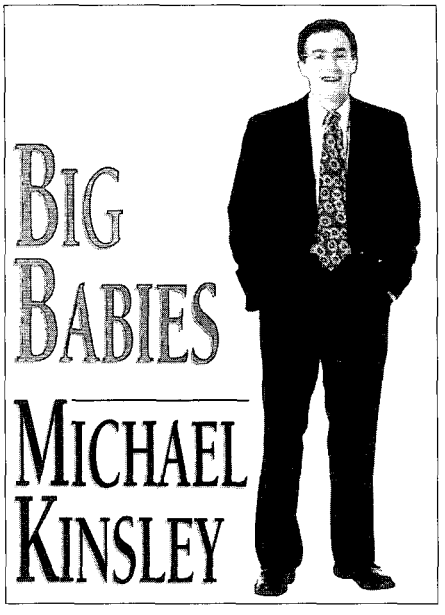
With only rare exceptions, Solomon is openly contemptuous of the Reagan administration economic team. In his view it was populated with "monetarists and anti-tax ideologues" and "hardliners" unwilling to raise needed taxes or to bail out failed banks and corrupt governments for the Greater Good of International Finance.

Solomon's main concern is the menace of irresponsible, stateless capital, sloshing around the world's electronic highways and byways in a relentless search for a higher return. Governments, he says, must tame the uncontrolled shifts of private investment by imposing a "new international compact of world monetary rules, norms, and policy actions."

Solomon does not leave it to others to figure out how to pay for this stupendous program. He advocates a tax of half a percent on all spot market foreign-exchange transactions. Solomon claims this new tax (levied by whom?) might net some $13 trillion—yes, that's trillion—a year. This sum, he confidently believes, would be sufficient to pay the cost of administering new financial regulations, financing currency interventions and bailouts by the priests of Basel, replenishing the depleted reserves of the World Bank, and giving the IMF eternal life as the world central bank so long waiting to be born. This is the New World Order with a vengeance.

There is, of course, another alternative. That is to recognize that this much-reviled "stateless capital" represents the assets of people who are consciously shipping it around the world in search of market opportunities, low tax rates, and productive efficiency. Their responsibility is to live with the risks they incur without expectation of government rescues carried out at the expense of innocent taxpayers. The proper role of governments is to produce (or just allow) a currency based on something that holds its value, enforce the laws against force and fraud, and then get the hell out of the way.

John McClaughry, a former hardliner and anti-taxer in the Reagan administration, is president of the Ethan Allen Institute in Concord, Vermont.



THE CRITICAL LIBERAL

By David Boaz

Big Babies: Vintage Whines
By Michael Kinsley (Morrow: New York), 327 pages, $23

Michael Kinsley is the best magazine editor of our time. He even made *Harper's* must reading for a brief shining moment back in the early 1980s. So it was bad news for readers, not to mention for Pat Buchanan and John Sununu, when he gave up editing *The New Republic* in 1989 for daily television. Far be it from a libertarian like me to urge anyone to pass up fame and fortune via TV in order to produce a public good. But to a pundit for whom greed is a *bête noire,* the tradeoff ought to seem more troubling.

Kinsley's obsession with greed doesn't take long to rear its head in this selection of his essays from 1986 to 1995. I found it first on page 38 where he refers to "the great American g-spot (*g,* in this case, for greed)" in a piece grousing about frequent-flier programs. It turns up again in columns on Michael Milken, on taxing the superrich, and elsewhere.

Devoted Kinsley readers will find a lot of classic lines in this collection: Al "Gore is an old person's idea of a young person." "A gaffe, as this column never tires of pointing out, is when a politician tells the truth." "After [Supreme Court nominee Douglas] Ginsburg fell, a lawyer friend of mine expressed dismay that 'the only members of our generation who will get to run the country will be sanctimonious liars.' I reassured him that this is true of every generation."

But the theme that runs most strongly through this book, and inspires the title, is Kinsley's scolding of the American public. He writes in the introduction that "they make flagrantly incompatible demands—cut my taxes, preserve my benefits, balance the budget—then explode in self-righteous outrage when the politicians fail to deliver....They are, in short, big babies." In a column on the House Bank scandal he complains, "What serious citizen tolerates a $400 billion deficit but draws the line at a $400 rubber check?"

Well, there's some truth here, and it's good that certain *Crossfire* hosts are free to tell off voters because they aren't running for office. But Kinsley's only proposed solution to this problem is his advice to "Get serious. Grow up."

Meanwhile, public-choice scholars have been pointing out for a generation that there are institutional reasons that voters in a democracy demand government services while resisting the tax increases to pay for them. That's why those scholars and some politicians, mostly on the Right, have tried to find institutional reforms to change the incentives we all face at the public trough. Kinsley did reluctantly endorse the balanced-budget amendment in 1992, while quoting an opponent who called it a "cruel hoax" because "it substitutes procedure for substance." But procedures are important. Limiting the size of the government pie—or at least making it difficult to enlarge the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

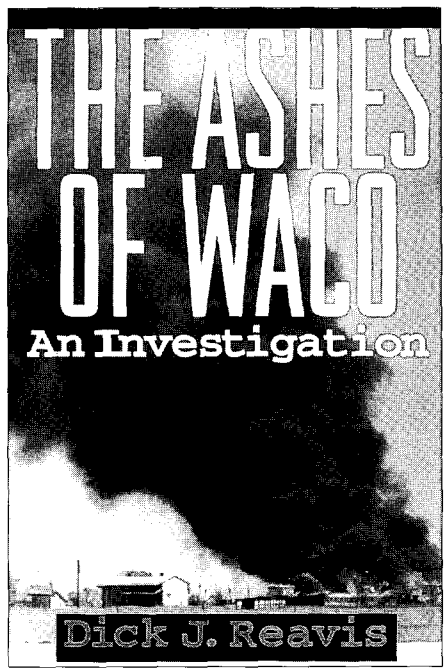
pie without paying for it now—would force us all to consider just how much we want our serving.

Kinsley makes the same mistake with regard to term limits, which he describes as "the silliest expression of America's failure of democratic followership [as opposed to leadership]," because their purpose is to prevent voters from hurting themselves through their own freely cast ballots. Well, yes. Each of us will be tempted to choose the best pork hauler available if that's the way the system works, so we elect a Congress of Robert Byrds. But is it so silly to collectively agree instead, at the constitutional level, that to reduce this incentive none of our representatives will serve more than three terms? Then maybe our representatives will keep the national interest in mind even when we don't.

On this point, it might be noted that Kinsley regularly chides Reagan Republicans for having told voters they could have tax cuts without spending reductions. Again he has a certain point. But who started the game of telling voters that government could raise their kids, take care of the old folks, lend them money for a house, and improve their love lives while somebody else picked up the check? It worked for the Democrats for some 60 years; is it any surprise that Republicans were tempted to pick it up?

Notwithstanding the above, Kinsley's strongest suit is as critic of conservative arguments and hypocrisies. One theme of his book is the incoherence of the conservative position on antidiscrimination law and affirmative action. Conservatives proclaim ringingly that they are all for vigorous enforcement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which they say quite properly outlaws all public and private racial discrimination. Then they endorse "affirmative action voluntarily practiced." But isn't that racial discrimination? Now, Kinsley is insufficiently appreciative of the distinction between public and private—that is, between coerced and voluntary—action. But he has identified here a logical trap for conservatives.

Kinsley also notes that conservatives decry the culture of victimization while loudly draping the victim mantle around conservative college students and white men. In pointing out that William F. Buckley, Jr., in his 1951 book *God and Man at Yale* called on his alma mater to "impose...on its students a conservative orthodoxy of capitalism and Christianity," while Dinesh D'Souza in 1991's *Illiberal Education* calls for an end to campus orthodoxy, Kinsley seems to indict the Right for hypocrisy. But what the shift really points to is the virtual disappearance of conservative thinking in the academy over that 40-year period. By 1991, all conservatives dared dream of was a campus where their ideas were not ridiculed and suppressed. That is probably a better vision for a university anyway, and whether some conservatives might prefer Buckley's original concept or not, its ideological opposite is the current reality.



In a 1988 column musing on the possibility of annexing Canada, Kinsley demonstrates his political radar. He notes that "right-wing American nativists, white racists, and so on ought to relish the prospect of a vast infusion of Anglo-Saxon stock into the American melting pot...millions of citizens with sturdy names like Mulroney and Turner." Just two years later Pat Buchanan seized on the idea, crying that "tribe and race, language and faith, history and culture" prompt us to dream of "an English-speaking nation, extending from Key West to the North Pole," and concluding, "Who speaks for the Euro-Americans, who founded the U.S.A.?"

Michael Kinsley is an incisive critic of conservative and libertarian ideas. But he's better with the assassin's stiletto than with a builder's trowel. Reading his essays, it's hard to see what he's *for*. He lacks the vision thing, as one hapless former president put it. In this, Kinsley perfectly represents liberalism in our time. *Vanity Fair* has called him "his generation's leading liberal light, the man with all the answers." His light is indeed piercing. But like contemporary liberalism itself he is all thrust and parry—with very few answers.

David Boaz is executive vice president of the Cato Institute.

DAVIDIANS VS. GOLIATH

By Carol Moore

The Ashes of Waco: An Investigation
By Dick J. Reavis (Simon & Schuster: New York) 320 pages, $24

The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms assault that killed six Branch Davidians. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's harsh 51-day siege. The April 19 gas and tank attack that led to the fiery deaths of 76 men, women, and children. Were these fully justified law enforcement actions, bungled police operations, or a brutal attack on an obscure religious group? In *The Ashes of Waco* Dick Reavis attempts to bring journalistic neutrality to the subject. His analysis suggests bungling, though some of the evidence he presents points to some self-justifying conspiring among BATF and FBI agents at Waco.

After working for the *Texas Monthly* and *Dallas Observer,* Reavis quit his job with an "alternative" paper in Texas to research this book because he saw no other professional journalists taking up the task. His sources include in-depth interviews with Davidian survivors, trial and congressional hearing transcripts, and the 18,000 pages of transcribed negotiations between the Davidians and FBI negotiators.

Reavis devotes nearly a third of his book to exploring how David Koresh's beliefs and teachings colored the Davidians' reactions to the paramilitary attacks on their community. He places Koresh's vision firmly in the tradition of Ellen White,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

founder of the Seventh Day Adventists. Among other things, White taught that God continues to enlighten humans through "present day" prophets and that Christ will return after a time of government persecution of true believers.

After Koresh took over the Branch Davidians, an Adventist spinoff, in 1988, a series of visions convinced him that it was his mission to teach, and then fulfill, the Seven Seals of the Book of Revelation. Koresh believed that through study of the Seven Seals he could transform his followers into a new order of being who would transcend human appetites. Mount Carmel became a monastery—except that Koresh was given a special charge to produce a number of sacred children.

It was this last belief—that girls who reached the age of puberty were to be his wives—that particularly inflamed former members against Koresh. Their allegations of child abuse resulted in an investigation by the state of Texas. This increased the intensity of Koresh's fear that the government persecution of true believers prophesized by Ellen White was at hand. While this persecution might lead to their deaths, if Davidians were sufficiently obedient to God they might be "translated" into the Kingdom of God without having to die, he instructed. Davidians reacted to BATF and FBI actions, Reavis explains, within the context of their sincerely held view that the attack was a sign from God that the end was near, and that Koresh should spread his message to the world.

Reavis's evidence indicates that the original BATF assault was conducted despite David Koresh's good faith invitation to the BATF to come inspect his weapons; that BATF agents spread false information about the presence at Mt. Carmel of a methamphetamine laboratory; that BATF agents fired first at the front door, mortally wounding David Koresh's father-in-law Perry Jones in the abdomen; that medical examiners may have lied when they denied Jones was so wounded; that BATF agents fired indiscriminately from helicopters, killing four Davidians; that BATF agents may have assassinated a wounded Davidian trying to return to Mount Carmel; that the FBI may have prevented Texas Rangers from gathering evidence of the crime; that the FBI destroyed evidence that might have proved the Davidians did relatively little firing; that the FBI withheld critical evidence about the status of negotiations and the gas plan from Attorney General Janet Reno; and that the building may have caught fire because of FBI negligence.

The information about Waco that millions of Americans of diverse political views are searching for today is not more detail on the peculiar theology of the Davidians but rather an explanation for the actions of federal agents and officials in the showdown. Perhaps fearful of being labeled a "conspiracy theorist," Reavis treads lightly here. He repeatedly mentions the anti-authoritarian attitudes of the Davidians. Wayne Martin rejected the BATF's offer of medical aid saying, "We don't want any help from your country." David Koresh asked negotiators, "If the Vatican can have its own little country, can't I have my own little country?" However, Reavis does not explore the possibility that the federal government considered the Davidians to be separatists who had to be crushed because they were mocking and undermining the authority of the United States government. As former FBI Deputy Director Larry Potts said the day after the fire, "These people had thumbed their nose at law enforcement."

The Ashes of Waco is an insightful introduction to a tragic event. However, only the appointment of an independent counsel with a full staff of investigators and the ability to grant immunity to agents and officials can get to the real truth about what happened at Waco and why.

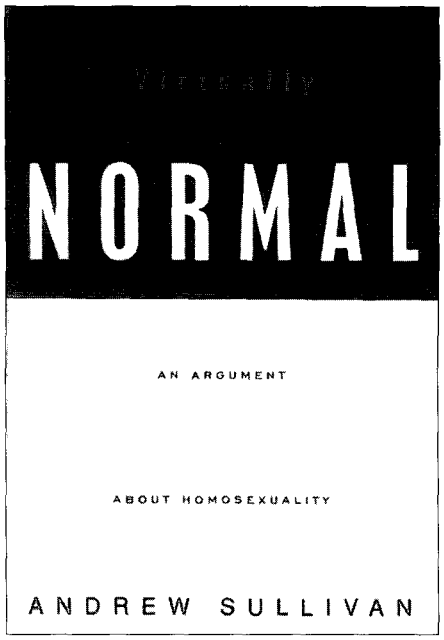
Carol Moore is author of The Davidian Massacre.

NOT NATURAL

By Scott Walter

Virtually Normal: An Argument About Homosexuality
By Andrew Sullivan, (Knopf: New York), 224 pages, $22

Early on, the reader of Andrew Sullivan's defense of "gay rights" encounters his notion of homosexual coupling as a valuable "complement" to heterosexual relations—"a variation that does not eclipse



the theme," much as "redheads offer a startling contrast to the blandness of their peers." Waxing grandiloquent, Sullivan adds that "prohibiting" homosexuality (which seems to include any public disapproval) is "the real crime against nature, a refusal to accept the variety of God's creation, a denial of the way in which the other need not threaten, but may actually give depth and contrast to, the self."

Sullivan mixes this sort of elegant sophistry with paeans to monogamy. He attacks radical homosexual activists for their nihilistic dreams of "liberation" and defends bourgeois preferences for "emotional stability." He also insists that all political responses to homosexuality heretofore conceived—liberal or conservative—are unworkable. Our only salvation lies in his solution: permit no official discrimination by sexual orientation, but tolerate private discrimination. Translated, that means open homosexuals in the military, homosexual marriage and adoption, and "basic education about homosexuality in the high schools," but no legal requirement that Orthodox Jewish landlords rent to homosexuals, or that gay bars hire straight employees.

Under Sullivan's regime we should apparently expect to see the gay lifestyle take a turn toward healthier practices while the culture wars simultaneously cool down. But skeptics may wonder: Once we have started cherishing and legally protecting

continued on page 99

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Author Author!

BY FLORENCE KING

Fighting Words

In this space in our last issue, subscribers will recall, Florence King reviewed the life and books of fellow Southern writer Molly Ivins. In the course of so doing, King discovered in an Ivins collection several samples of her own writing that had been lifted without attribution. In another case, King had been credited, but the quote had been heavily rewritten within the quotation marks. King charged plagiarism, and told reporters that "if we had the right kind of laws in this country I'd challenge her to duel over this." The original article in The American Enterprise *and the sharp exchanges that followed were covered by newspapers and magazines from across the country. The two letters below represent the final fallout in the war of wits.*

August 16, 1995

Dear Ms. King,
You are quite right. There are three sentences in my article "Magnolias and Moonshine" —one of them a really good political line—that should have been attributed directly to you and are not.

On the third matter you raise in your AUTHOR AUTHOR! column in *The American Enterprise*, I have no idea how I managed to attribute to you more than you actually said—perhaps a recollection of something somewhere else in one of your books on the South. But I do not think a mistake of excessive attribution can be considered plagiarism.

I owe you an apology and I hereby tender it. I am deeply ashamed. I regret not giving you credit, and devoutly wish the matter had been brought to my attention earlier so it might have been corrected in subsequent editions and the paperback edition of the book.

I hope this does not sound too defensive to you, but there was no intention on my part to deceive anyone into thinking I had not read the many funny things you have said about the South. I hope my good faith is evidenced by the fact that I did cite you directly six times in the piece and praise one of your books as "definitive" on the peculiarities of Southerners as well.

I was inexcusably sloppy about the three sentences in question, with emphasis on the inexcusably.

Over the years, I have not only quoted many of your wonderful lines about the South in speeches—always, I believe, giving you credit—but also recommended your books to hundreds of people. I realize this does not excuse my lifting lines of yours without credit, but I did want you to know.

As for the rest of your observations about me and my work in your AUTHOR AUTHOR! column, boy you really are a mean b——, aren't you?

Sincerely,
Molly Ivins, plagiarist

August 24, 1995

Dear Miss Ivins:
Rather than rehash what I call plagiarism and you call careless attribution, I will speak in general terms.

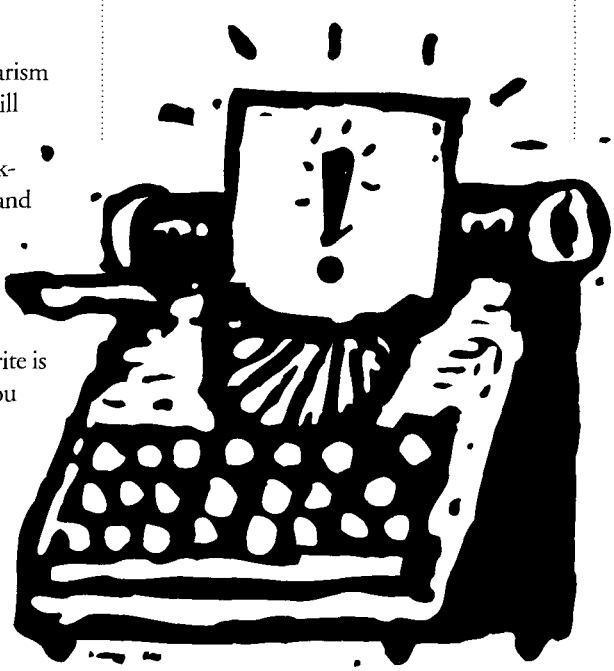
First, the *Washington Post*, in breaking this story, referred to your "side" and my "side." How can there be a "side" in this when everyone involved is either a writer or an editor? All of us, by definition, are on the same side—the word side. Every word I write is a piece of my heart, and I presume you feel the same way.

Second, I'm wondering how you managed to recycle me unchanged from the 1988 *Mother Jones* article into the 1991 book. When I compiled *The Florence King Reader*, I reread everything I've published over the last 20 years. I polished, revised, even rewrote some of the early selections to bring them up to my present standards, and I also prepared a fresh manuscript. This is how you catch mistakes. Anthologies are harder than they look, so please look next time.

Third, your publisher contends that I am seeking publicity by "attempting to hang onto the cape of Molly's notoriety." (You may want to take issue with him over his choice of words.) I have no need or wish for "notoriety"; celebrity is bad enough. I already have the only thing I want: the admiration and respect of people who know good writing and love the English language as I do.

Finally, it's a shame this had to happen because you and I are such a pair of old rips that we probably would have gotten along like gangbusters. Please don't spoil any more potential friendships.

Sincerely,
Florence King



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Most of our world lies beneath the oceans. Below
a powerful impact on the
we wear, and medicines
ow we protect the oceans
ure. Now, a fascinating
hsonian Institution calle

OCEAN PLANET

Ocean Planet tells this story in a unique way. A
proud sponsor, Motorola invites you to experie
this exciting new view of our world. Ocean Pla
is now at the Smithsonian's National Museum
Natural History in Washington, D.C. and will
traveling to cities across the U.S.

MOTOROLA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Edited by Martin Morse Wooster

the Digest

Summaries of important new research from the nation's universities, think tanks, and investigative publications

POLITICS

The Drive-By Election?

Geoff Earle, "Motor Trouble for Democrats," in Governing *(August 1995), 2300 N Street NW #760, Washington, DC 20037.*

It's long been an axiom of electoral politics that Republicans tend to win elections with low turnouts, while Democrats win high-volume elections. That's one reason Republicans in Congress opposed the 1993 "motor voter" law, which declared that, after January 1, 1995, all voters could register while renewing their driver's licenses. Republican governors in many states have refused to implement the law; California governor Pete Wilson declared the motor voter law "flatly unconstitutional" and refused to enforce the law until forced to in June by a court order.

But these governors, argues free-lancer Earle, shouldn't worry that much, because states that require voters to declare a party affiliation when registering are seeing increasing numbers of independents, not Democrats. In Kentucky, for example, 3 percent of voters in the 1992 election said they were independents, but 25 percent of new voters opted for the independent line. In 1992, 3 percent of Oklahoma voters declared themselves independent, while 26 percent of new voters have registered as independents. Similar trends are taking place in other states where Democrats have the most to fear from a rise in independent registrations.

Democrats may still make gains with the motor voter law's provision requiring increased voter registration drives in welfare offices, which currently account for 8 percent of motor voter registrations. While some Democratic advocates argue that this provision of the law will add as many as 5 million new Democrats to the voter rolls, it is not clear whether welfare recipients will "turn out to vote in the same numbers as others recruited by the new law."

It may well be, Earle predicts, that the ultimate effect of the motor voter law will be to increase the volatility of the 1996 election. For while the law may be creating masses of new voters, he says, "it doesn't seem to be creating masses of new Democrats."

Democracies at War

Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, "Democratization and the Danger of War," in International Security *(Summer 1995), MIT Press, 55 Hayward Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.*

One truism of international relations is that democracies don't go to war against each other. But currently the somewhat democratic nations of Croatia and Serbia are battling each other, as are the semi-democratic states of Armenia and Azerbaijan. Does this break the pattern?

Columbia University political scientists Mansfield and Snyder suggest it's still true that "well-institutionalized democracies that reliably place authority in the hands of the average voter virtually never fight wars against each other." But new democracies are more likely to engage in conflict than mature ones. Examining a database of all conflicts between 1811 and 1980, the authors conclude that fragile democracies are one-third more likely to enter a conflict (including civil wars) than stable democracies or even autocracies.

Mansfield and Snyder find that in partial democracies, ruling elites tend to reach out only to selected special interests, encouraging voters to form single-issue lobbies instead of working through political parties. Many such lobbies, the authors argue, have a "parochial interest in war, military preparation, empire, and protectionism." In countries that are becoming democratic, extreme nationalistic organizations are also more likely to have their voices heard.

In this way, foreign policies that give vague encouragement to democracy might actually produce a more unstable and violent world. A better policy would be to provide "golden parachutes" to those people (generals, nuclear scientists, "smokestack industrialists") in potential democracies who are most threatened by change. Funds that encourage a free press and unconstrained political debate might also insure more stable democracies in the formerly Communist nations. But whatever the West might do, it's clear that many nations trying to become democracies will undergo a "turbulent transition" before they become free and stable states.

ECONOMICS

Sell the World Bank

Nicholas Eberstadt and Clifford Lewis, "Privatizing the World Bank," in The National Interest *(Summer 1995), 1112 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036.*

For some time now, the World Bank has advised struggling third-world countries to privatize inefficient government monopolies to improve their national fortune. Eberstadt, a visiting scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, and Lewis, director of Stornoway Investments, argue that it's time for the World Bank to apply this good advice to itself—and undergo privatization.

The World Bank was founded in 1944 to provide funds for countries either ravaged by war or in the process of becom-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing decolonized. By the early 1970s this had been accomplished, yet the Bank continued to supply funds to countries for philanthropic and environmental projects and management of "debt crises." Were the World Bank a private organization, undergoing the same constraints of other financial institutions, it might be more responsible in its lending practices. And "transition to private Bank ownership," the authors argue, "promises to save taxpayers in America and other Western countries billions of dollars in the coming years."

Eberstadt and Lewis propose that the World Bank privatize its International Finance Corporation, which makes loans to private companies. This could actually net $2 billion to the United States. Then they propose defunding the International Development Association, which primarily aids countries that are could easily obtain loans in commercial capital markets. Such a move would save U.S. taxpayers $2 billion annually.

Next, Eberstadt and Lewis argue, the Bank should enforce "a strict interpretation of the Bank's original charter," which allows funding only of enterprises that stimulate economic growth. This would enable the Bank to extricate itself from social spending and other wasteful projects, and concentrate on providing guarantees "for commercial projects in low-income member states." With these changes, the United States might well be able to save $1 billion by terminating its support of the Export-Import Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation.

Finally, they argue the World Bank should be run like a business; scores of unnecessary and extremely highly paid middle-management jobs need to be eliminated. The Bank could then return profits to the governments that are its shareholders, and perhaps eventually become so sound that it would not need these governments to provide financial guarantees on Bank loans. This would allow the Bank to be able to offer shares to private shareholders and eventually complete its privatization.

Privatizing the World Bank, Eberstadt and Lewis conclude, would make the world's financial system sounder, and would help low-income nations adopt more responsible economic policies, thus hastening "the ultimate alleviation of material poverty in our world."

A Few More Miles to Transport Deregulation

Thomas Gale Moore, "Clearing the Track," in Regulation *(Number 2, 1995), Cato Institute, 1000 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20001.*

The partial deregulation of the transportation industry during the Carter and Reagan administrations has produced substantial economic benefits. Airfares have fallen dramatically, and trucking deregulation has substantially reduced shipping costs and saved corporations over $100 billion in inventory expenditures.

But Moore, a Hoover Institution senior fellow, observes that "although deregulatory legislation has dismantled the worst government controls, federal rules still prevent transportation firms from operating as freely as those in most other lines of business."

Railroads still face stringent regulation from the Interstate Commerce Commission, which controls the supply of rail cars, imposes price controls, and prohibits rail companies from owning trucking or shipping companies. Rail companies must obtain ICC approval to abandon old lines, build new ones, or sell lines to other companies.

Shippers are still largely overseen by the Jones Act, which prohibits foreign carriers from taking cargo from one American port to another. This ensures that U.S. shipping costs remain high.

To complete transportation deregulation, Moore argues, Congress should abolish the Federal Maritime Commission and the Interstate Commerce Commission and repeal the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887, placing antitrust enforcement in transportation into the hands of the Justice Department. Except for consumer protection, which Moore believes should be the responsibility of the Federal Trade Commission, all other federal transportation regulation should be abolished. "Congress," he concludes, "should lift the withered hand of oversight from the transportation industry."

Safe Food

John M. Antle, Choice and Efficiency in Food Safety Policy. *AEI Press, 1150 17th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036. 93 pages.*

What's the best way to ensure that the foods we eat are safe? Antle, a Montana State economist, calls for two rules. First, food safety regulations should pass stringent cost-benefit tests. Second, food safety regulation should provide consumers with as much information as possible to help them identify safe foods.

Some regulations already pass benefit-cost tests. For example, the Food and Drug Administration's recent nutrition label reforms pass a cost-benefit test because they provide consumers with useful information without restricting the choices of products they can buy.

But many other food safety regulations have costs that outweigh benefits. Consider the "Delaney clause," which defines a food as unsafe if it contains a detectable cancer-causing compound. When the clause was enacted in 1958, chemists could detect pesticide residues at a rate of one part per million. Today, chemists are able to detect pesticides at a rate of one part per 1,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 (that's sextillion) parts of food. The clause forces food processors to spend a great deal of money when there's no evidence that barring these tiny amounts of pesticides causes cancer levels to go down. Thus the FDA should allow a minimal level of carcinogens in food and allow organic food producers to issue pesticide-free products for those who want them.

Another regulatory misstep, in Antle's view, is the FDA's interest in mandating that seafood processors find "critical control points" in their production lines where they can eliminate possible hazards, generating large amounts of paperwork at each step. A better method would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be for the FDA to issue performance standards for safety, but allow companies to meet these standards in the most efficient way possible.

"One of the most basic principles of economics," Antle writes, "is that imposing constraints on people's opportunities can only make them worse off." Informed consumers able to choose among a wide number of products will likely be safer than consumers whose product choices are arbitrarily restricted by bureaucrats.

At Home with Foreign Companies

Edward M. Graham and Paul R. Krugman, Foreign Direct Investment in the United States. *Third edition. Institute for International Economics, 11 Dupont Circle NW, Washington DC, 20036. 193 pages.*

There's been a great deal of criticism in recent years that foreign companies are stealing jobs and capital from the United States. But Graham, an Institute for International Economics senior fellow, and Krugman, a Stanford University economist, suggest that these businesses do more good than harm to America.

The boundary between an American firm and a foreign one is hard to define. Official statistics are somewhat arbitrary. For example, the Department of Commerce declares a U.S. company foreign-owned if a single non-American investor owns more than 10 percent of the stock. By this standard, DuPont, with 23 percent of its shares in the hands of the Bronfman family of Canada, is foreign owned.

Many foreign investors appear to own more of America than they actually do. Overall, as of 1992, foreign firms operating in America produced about 4 percent of U.S. output. Depending on what calculation is used, they owned between 11 and 19 percent of U.S. manufacturing firms. Foreign direct investment in the U.S. peaked in 1988, when foreigners spent $143 billion to purchase U.S. enterprises. Since then it has declined substantially; in 1992, foreigners bought U.S. businesses worth $31 billion.

Foreign firms, the authors find, differ sharply from American companies in only one respect—they tend to import more and export less than U.S.-owned counterparts. Had foreign firms imported and exported at the rate of American-owned ones, the 1990 trade deficit would have been $20 billion lower.

In other areas, foreign firms behave much like American businesses. It appears they actually pay their workers more, because foreign investment is concentrated in such high-wage industries as petroleum (where foreign-owned companies paid their U.S. workers an average of $43,200 in 1990) and chemicals ($46,500). They also spend slightly more on research and development; in 1991 U.S. affiliates of foreign corporations devoted $2,450 per worker to R & D, compared to $1,430 for domestic firms.

The U.S. economy, say Graham and Krugman, is gradually coming to resemble European ones that have had substantial foreign investment for decades. The United States is "simply becoming more normal...like other countries, a host as well as a home for multinational firms."

SOCIETY

Good Enough for Government Art

Alice Goldfarb Marquis, Art Lessons: Learning From the Rise and Fall of Public Arts Funding. *Basic Books, 10 East 53rd Street, New York, NY 10022. 258 pages, $25.*

Much of the debate over the National Endowment for the Arts has centered on the agency's relatively small number of controversial grants. But Marquis, a visiting scholar at the University of California, San Diego, argues that this is the least of the agency's drawbacks. More seriously, the NEA has over its 30-year existence contributed to artistic stagnation.

The National Endowment for the Arts was created in 1965 because the United States was allegedly the only Western nation that did not fund art. Though the agency was at first relatively small—its budget in 1969 was about $8 million—it quickly spawned other bureaucracies, including 50 state art councils. By 1972 these councils had formed their own Washington-based organization, the National Association of State Arts Agencies, to lobby for ever-increasing subsidies.

In 1980, the NEA reached its budgetary peak, spending $144 million on 5,500 grant recipients. But it was not clear what the NEA's mission was, or what it had accomplished in spending $1 billion over more than a dozen years.

Though the NEA's budget slowly shrank during the 1980s and 1990s, the agency refused to adapt. "The federal effort to support the arts had calcified into a rigid bureaucracy," Marquis writes, "dispensing mostly entitlements, its dwindling funds divided and sub-divided among an ever-increasing tribe of claimants." Conflicts of interests were rife, as members of the panels reviewing grant applications steered funds to their brethren. Increasingly, the NEA's budget went to arts administrators instead of artists; by 1991, 53 percent of the agency's budget went to "infrastructure"—panelists, consultants, research projects, service groups, administrators, and other people who did not actually create art. And the grants the NEA did give to artists increasingly went to already-successful creators, not pioneering ones. Artist Donald Baechler observed in 1990 that he was delighted to receive $15,000 from the government because "I paid about a quarter of my taxes with my NEA grant."

If government is to fund the arts, Marquis concludes, a better way than funding groups directly would be to hire impresarios who would book artists into auditoriums, galleries, theatres, and concert halls across America. It's clear, Marquis argues, that the NEA has done more on its current course to stagnate art in America than to advance creative enterprise.

Hail Habitat!

Howard Husock, "It's Time to Take Habitat for Humanity Seriously," in City Journal *(Summer 1995), Manhattan Institute, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017.*

When people think of Habitat for Humanity, the giant nonprofit housing builder, many think of former president Jimmy Carter swinging a hammer on his vacations. Or perhaps they have seen one of the "blitz builds" where scores of volunteers converge on a city

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and construct a low-income house in a few days. What they may not know, says Howard Husock of Harvard's Kennedy School, is that the organization is a leader at teaching poor people responsibility. "It's hard to avoid seeing the exponential growth of Habitat as anything but a socially conservative movement," he states.

The secret to Habitat's success is the requirements it imposes on people who want Habitat-built homes. Each applying family must agree to help build someone else's home, as well as their own. Families must also be willing to make a down payment of $100, agree to make mortgage payments (often as low as $150–200 a month), and pass character tests.

This pre-selection process ensures that Habitat helps families who are responsible. At present, 89 percent of Habitat families are current in their mortgage payments, and since 1976 the organization has had to foreclose on only 1 percent of its mortgages, considerably less than the comparable federal program, which has had default rates of 35 percent.

Because Habitat rejects federal funds, its houses do not have to conform to expensive national housing standards. Local zoning boards, however, continue to give Habitat a hard time.

With an annual budget of $67 million, Habitat builds 4,000 new homes a year, and founder Millard Fuller hopes to increase that to 10,000, which would make the group the nation's biggest home builder. Habitat's quiet success shows that "a nonprofit organization, combining volunteers as well as a professional staff, can succeed where government has largely failed in helping the poor—and in the process create a movement that is broadly and genuinely popular."

Inner-City Business

Michael E. Porter, "The Competitive Advantages of the Inner City," in Harvard Business Review *(May-June 1995), 60 Harvard Way, Boston, MA 02163.*

Ever since the Great Society, it's been an assumption of U.S. social policy that America's inner cities are hopeless failures whose economies can only be revived by infusions of government aid. But now that it's clear redistributing wealth hasn't helped the poor, suggests Harvard Business School professor Michael Porter, why not try a new policy—helping the inner cities create wealth? For there are a great many businesses, he argues, who could use the strengths of the inner city to gain competitive advantages.

Inner cities have four potential uses for business. First, they are centrally located in "what should be economically viable areas." Second, they are ripe markets for small businesses that can tailor their services to poor people's needs. Third, inner-city firms can act as inexpensive subcontractors for larger businesses in a region. For example, Detroit's Mexican Industries, a $100 million firm, hires inner-city residents to build head rests, air bags, and arm rests for the Big Three automakers. Lastly, inner-city workers, contrary to stereotypes, are often willing to work hard given suitable employment.

Inner cities, of course, have significant disadvantages. Taxes are higher because of the large number of residents living on entitlements. Construction costs are considerably higher in cities than elsewhere, due to zoning, inspection, and unions, and land tends to come in smaller parcels. Crime—and the fear of crime—raises costs for businesses substantially. And while the labor pool in inner cities is substantial, experienced managers are hard to find.

Corporations could help inner cities by supporting training programs that improve the quality of the labor pool, and by providing inner-city start-ups with management assistance, Porter suggests. Government could also help, by channeling funding, and removing regulatory barriers that discourage inner-city entrepreneurship. Indianapolis, for example, has over the past two years eliminated its taxi monopoly, made the process of obtaining building permits simpler, and eliminated other pointless regulations.

The process of creating wealth in the inner city, Porter concedes, will be hard for governments unaccustomed to ceding power, and for nonprofit organizations that have spent decades simply lobbying for more government transfers. But "the time has come to stem the intolerable costs of outdated approaches" to aiding the poor.

Neighborhood Rule

George W. Liebmann, The Little Platoons: Sub-Local Governments in Modern History. *Praeger Publishers, Post Office Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881. 146 pages, $55.*

One reason many Americans feel threatened by "big government" is because they rarely deal with small government. The smallest portion of government that represents them is a township, county, or city, and these often represent several hundred thousand people.

But in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries neighborhoods banded together to deal with local problems. Liebmann, a Baltimore attorney, argues that the tradition of "general-purpose submunicipal governments" ought to be revived. He agrees with Friedrich von Hayek, who, in the third volume of *Law, Legislation, and Liberty* (1982), argued that "to re-entrust the management of most service activities of government to smaller units would probably lead to the revival of a communal spirit which has largely been suffocated by centralization."

These neighborhood governments still exist to some degree in Europe and Japan. Britain still has over 16,000 parishes, mostly in rural areas, which repair buildings and footpaths, create local entertainments, and clean streets. France's communes, some over 900 years old, control a quarter of all French government spending, covering elementary schools, old age homes, and public spaces. And Germany has over a thousand *Gemeinde* ("quarter-councils"), which perform similar functions.

Japan has the most extensive system of sub-local governments. Over 1,200 crime prevention associations *(bohan kyokai)* work with the police to fight crime. Neighborhood associations also provide volunteers who visit elderly people 100 days a year in return for a small stipend and invitations to community functions.

Some U.S. cities developed local associations that had some power. In St. Louis County, Missouri and Laredo, Texas, governments have privatized streets, selling them to residential associations whose members maintain them. Community associations in many subdivisions and apartment complexes have recently begun to perform functions previous allotted to gov-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ernment. Arizona has permitted associations in unincorporated areas to petition for new laws. Hawaii has allowed condominium associations to block liquor licenses within 500 feet of their buildings. But in America these local powers are the exception rather than the rule.

Liebmann argues that community, street, and block associations ought to be given a great deal more power. They could have the authority to waive zoning restrictions for day care centers or accessory apartments. They could maintain local parks. They could even create parking regulations or impose juvenile curfews. Giving local associations more authority, Liebmann argues, would give Americans an opportunity to work with their neighbors to solve local problems.

OTHER COUNTRIES

Vietnam's Crossroads

Edmund Fawcett, "Make Money, Not War," in The Economist *(July 8, 1995), 25 St. James Street, London SW1A 1HG, England.*

Now that the United States has normal relations with Vietnam, it's time to see what sort of country we will be dealing with. *Economist* staff writer Fawcett finds that Vietnam today practices a peculiar "market Leninism: a mixture of capitalist economics and communist politics."

After conquering South Vietnam, the victorious northerners imposed a repressive Stalin-style economy on the entire nation. The expulsion of Chinese merchants in 1977–78 proved particularly damaging to the economy. By 1986, Vietnam reached its "economic nadir," with 800 percent annual inflation and some provinces close to starvation. The country's rulers responded with an economic liberalizing policy called *doi moi* ("new change"). Collective farms were abolished by 1988, and foreign investment in joint-venture enterprises was encouraged. Over 4,000 small, family enterprises were established, mostly in southern Vietnam.

But Vietnam remains a poor country. In 1993, its gross domestic product was $200 per person, compared to $460 for China, $2,000 for Thailand, and $10,300 for Taiwan, and the nation has "a living museum" of outdated infrastructure. While family-run firms are now easily established, mid-size companies comparable to China's "village-and-township" enterprises don't yet exist. There are also no private Vietnamese banks.

More problematic is the role of the secretive communist party that still controls Vietnam. Capitalist economic policies and communist political tyranny are an unstable combination, Fawcett argues, and cannot coexist indefinitely. The party could crack down, like its counterparts in China and Burma, in the Vietnamese equivalent of Tiananmen Square. A "less melancholy possibility" would be for Vietnam's modernizers (like prime minister Vo Van Kiet) to prevail, and for a social democratic party that tolerates opposition to evolve. If that happens, Fawcett concludes, by early next century Vietnam could be Asia's economic growth star.

Latin America's Bright Future

Moisés Naìm, "Latin America the Morning After," in Foreign Affairs *(July/August 1995), Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, NY 10022.*

In the middle of 1994, Latin America's economic future appeared bright. Budget cuts and privatization had brought 17 out of 22 Latin American nations either a near-balanced budget or a surplus. Leaving Brazil aside, inflation among the region's nations had fallen from an average of 130 percent a year in 1989 to 14 percent by 1994. Tariffs had tumbled from more than 50 percent to around 14 percent over a decade, and trade between these nations soared.

Then the Mexican peso crashed. "Mexico's currency crisis has dimmed expectations for economies throughout Latin America," the *Financial Times* moaned. Actually, says Naìm, a senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, though the Mexican crisis underscores the fragility of many Latin American economies, these countries can continue to succeed economically given appropriate policies.

The key to understanding how Latin America has changed is to compare the Mexican peso devaluations of 1982 and 1994. In 1982, Latin American countries responded to the dry up of foreign investment that the fall brought by raising tariffs, tightening controls on the economy, and, in some cases, nationalizing banks. This ensured that the region's recession continued far longer than it need have. But this time, Latin economic ministers, particularly those of Brazil and Argentina, have responded differently—by increasing their privatization programs and working to make markets in their countries freer.

Latin America still faces many problems. Half of the population of the region is poor; low saving rates bring a scarcity of capital; and bureaucratic inefficiencies continue to snarl trade. And as Latin Americans becomes more export-oriented they must fight protectionist sentiment in the United States and European Union, particularly concerning agricultural products.

Eventually, Naìm concludes, today's tough-minded policies will cause Latin American economies to flourish.

SCIENCE & ENVIRONMENT

Clean House to Get Clean Air

Robert W. Hahn, "Reforming the Clean Air Act: The Case of Reducing Hazardous Air Pollution." Testimony before the House Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, June 29, 1995.

Congress is currently considering a revision of the Clean Air Act of 1990. Hahn, a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute, suggests that the law currently

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

flunks benefit-cost tests, and imposes "heavily prescriptive, inflexible regulatory approaches that are unnecessarily burdensome on the private sector and consumers."

The act will cost American taxpayers $30 billion to implement fully, Hahn calculates, while providing only $14 billion worth of benefits. Title III of the act deserves particular attention, as it will cost $10 billion but only provide $1 billion in benefits.

The reason the act's so costly: inflexible regulation. Under EPA rules, companies must employ EPA-designated pollution control devices even if alternative, lower-cost methods exist. For example, Amoco's Yorktown, Virginia refinery could have blocked 97 percent of the facility's hydrocarbon emissions with an alternative method for a quarter of the cost of what it paid for EPA-mandated pollution control devices. Amoco was also required to spend $31 million to prevent emission of benzene through sewers, even though these controls blocked only 10 percent of the benzene coming from the refinery. Six million dollars of spending for controls on company barges, in contrast, could have captured 55 percent of the benzene emissions.

Hahn urges lawmakers rewriting the Clean Air Act to require the EPA to complete a study (currently three years overdue) determining the benefits and costs of clean air regulations. Congress should then use this study as a guide to air pollution regulation. Congress should also require the EPA to be more flexible about allowing companies to meet air pollution reduction targets by whatever means they find most effective and thrifty. The agency, Hahn writes, needs to be weaned away from "rigid, prescriptive approaches that place a drag on the economy, and do not provide appropriate incentives for environmental innovation."

continued from page 91

"variations" on heterosexual monogamy, by what principled objection can we resist groups insisting on "rights" for adulterers, for pedophiles, for polygamists, or for the bestially inclined? Sullivan says such questions "split hairs." But take polygamy: If marriage has no basis in the biological production of children, and rests solely on emotional yearnings sexually expressed, then what is the justification for any limit on the number of persons who can "become one flesh"? And is it irrelevant that Sullivan nowhere in the book disavows pedophile homosexuals like the North American Man-Boy Love Association, or that the magazine he edits (*The New Republic*) ran a blasé review in its May 8 issue of a documentary sympathetic to men who recruit young boys as sexual partners?

These sorts of ambiguities understandably worry Sullivan's opponents in the gay-rights debate, most of whom are religious conservatives appalled by attempts to canonize Woody Allen's updating of natural law to "The heart wants what it wants." Conservative advocacy of the "natural law" is only a fancy way of saying that human reason can discover natural realities and ethical absolutes in life, and that humans must respect them by attempting to conform themselves to those boundaries, and not the reverse. Rather than imagining we can reshape the world to our self-centered desires, we should struggle to center our lives on the intrinsic order found in the world.

But to read Sullivan's book, you'd never know that our desires tend to be selfish. He gushes about desires emotional and sexual, and insists that those hungers must be sated or agony will result, but this is a childish view. Many things we desire we cannot have at all, and many more of our desires, if slavishly followed, will cause harm to others and ourselves.

Sexual desires especially reveal this pattern, and today the ugly consequences of enslavement to carnal passion are all around us, in the abundance of rape, casual divorce, abortion as birth control, AIDS, and teenage pregnancy. Sexual urges must be governed just like other pressing passions, such as coveting other people's property and wanting to lash out in violence when one's will is frustrated.

The healthy development of sexuality, especially among boys, is no small concern for any society. Young men who think sex exists only to provide them selfish pleasure will be powerfully inclined to believe that everything exists only to please them. That is why civilized societies tie sexual pleasure to the responsibility for children.

Sullivan's Roman Catholic Church didn't invent this idea to impede his happiness. Jews, Protestants, and Muslims recognize the same fact of life, as did the atheist Freud, who labeled "perverse" any sexual activity that "departs from reproduction in its aims and pursues the attainment of gratification independently."

Sullivan's concern for his fellow homosexuals' disordered lives is touching, and his genuine respect for marriage is a sign of wisdom. But his pleadings have no hope either of persuading the homosexually tempted to lead lives of greater restraint, or of eliminating the average American's disgust at homosexual practice. Nor will his argumentativeness overturn biology and make same-sex couplings fruitful.

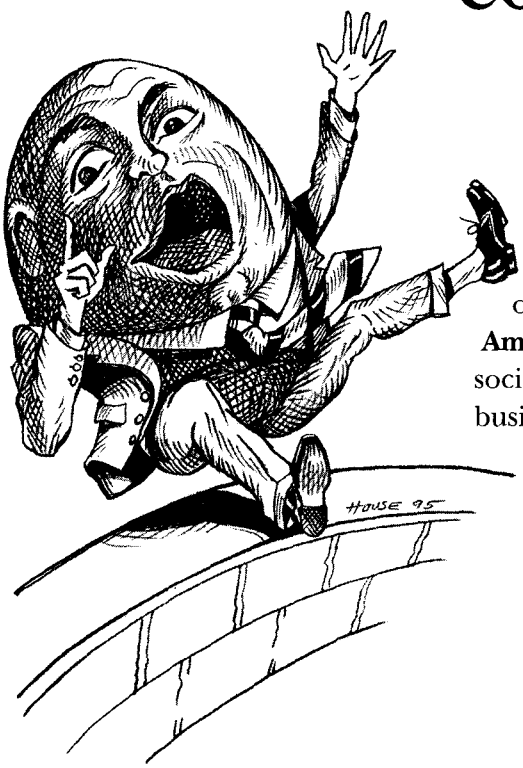
Any of us fallen humans is capable of glorying in heady rebellion against the order of nature. The intentional practice of the unsafest sex by those who know the risk is only chilling evidence of how far that can go.

Given the intractability of nature and the perversity of the human will, Sullivan might have been wiser to place his humanitarian concerns over sexuality in a more traditional framework—namely, in a merciful God Who reminds us that we are all sinners and that we will be judged on the charity, and truthfulness, we show our neighbors as they bear their crosses.

Scott Walter is senior editor of The American Enterprise.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All the Government's horses and all the Government's men couldn't put America together again.



America's problems will be solved by its people, not its politicians. The central challenge for conservatives over the next 20 years is to restore the tradition of **American Citizenship** by repairing the institutions of civil society—families, communities, churches, volunteer groups, businesses, schools, local governments.

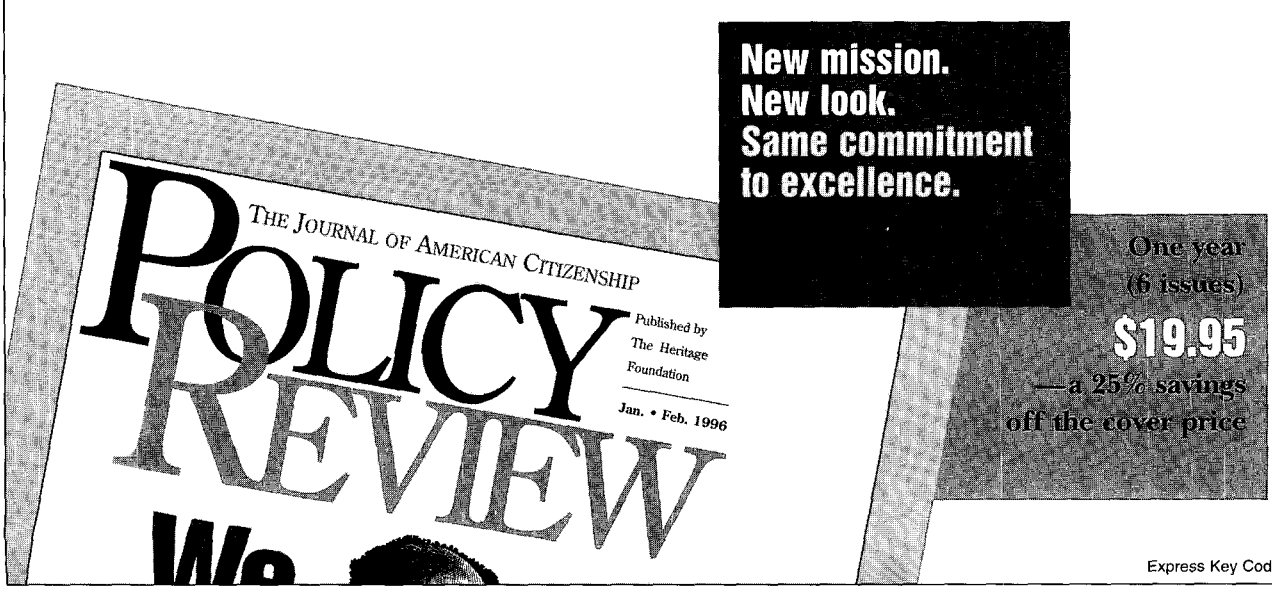
To understand the principles of American Citizenship read The Heritage Foundation's magazine:

POLICY REVIEW

THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

We study what works: private-sector and local government alternatives to the welfare state. We profile great American citizens who are doing amazing things in their communities. And we provide the common-sense poicy prescriptions that you expect from The Heritage Foundation.

Order Today. Call **1-800-304-0056** to reserve your copy.



Express Key Code: AAE95

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Pulse

Edited by Karlyn Bowman and Everett Carll Ladd
Data from the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research

Are We Exaggerating the Extent of Our Problems?

Contents

102 The Immigrant Experience
104 Violence in the Schools
106 The Mood in Washington
107 The Republicans in Congress
109 Grading Public School Education

America's first president believed that continuing immigration was important to the country's future. During his first term, George Washington wrote that while history showed other nations experiencing bursts of creative energy but then quickly fading, the United States would be an exception. Successive waves of newcomers would bring fresh passion to our national idea. Of late, Americans have had another of our intermittent bouts of worry over the rate of immigration, and as in the past, this one has centered around concern that national values and unity may be eroded by the arrival of too many newcomers over too short a period of time.

In the past, the historical record has affirmed Washington's expectations, rather than those of the fearful. Contemporary observers will be further reassured by the findings of a June 1995 Gallup survey of a large national sample of immigrants, which shows them to be as committed to American ideals as the native-born population in most areas and probably even more optimistic about the country's future (see pp. 102–103).

Crime is one of the few areas where immigrants compare the United States unfavorably to their homelands. Just 34 percent of all immigrants interviewed by Gallup said the United States was better than where they came from in terms of "the ability to feel safe from crime"; 49 percent ranked their birth place higher. Other Americans will agree that we have too much crime and, in part at least, immigrants are affirming a general sentiment. Crime and violence are certainly on the minds of many parents when they assess problems in the schools. A survey done in May and June by *Phi Delta Kappan* found 89 percent of parents saying they think student violence has increased in the nation's public schools, while only 9 percent thought it had remained unchanged or declined (see p. 104).

Here, though, the perception—fed by media reports—may be substantially at odds with experience. When asked whether student violence has increased in the school attended by their oldest child, less than half as many—41 percent instead of 89—saw the problem intensifying. We see this pattern in many different areas of activity: where people are dependent on the mass media for their sense of how things are developing in the nation at large, views are far more negative than where personal observation is a guide. *The Phi Delta Kappan* survey found this effect once again in assessment of schools' overall performance. The proportion giving "the school your oldest child attends" an "A" or "B" is more than three times as high as that giving the public schools nationally "a high grade."

There's also indication that surveys asking young people to describe school violence may be exaggerating the extent of the problem. For example, when a 1992 Gallup survey asked 13- to 17-year-olds whether they had ever feared for their physical safety at school, nearly one in four said they had. But what are we to make of this number? I can still vividly recall that, while attending schools any sane person would call safe in my hometown in Maine, I worried quite a bit one year that "Tooty" McMullan might rough me up pretty good. "Tooty" was about three years older than anyone else in the school, and about 75 pounds heavier. How many of the 24 percent who said they feared for their own personal safety had in mind relatively minor experiences like my own, versus others who feared grave harm? It is the latter—not occasional bullying—that concerns us most.

Turning to politics, the long-term decline in public confidence in national government problem-solving hasn't been interrupted. Responses to various questions shown on page 105 shouldn't be read too literally, but rather taken as indicators of a diffuse dissatisfaction. Republicans remain the beneficiaries of this turn in public thinking but new polls show some doubts about their prospect too.

—Everett Carll Ladd

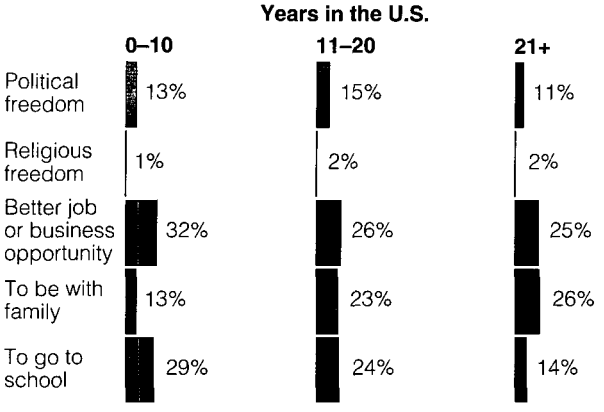
WHERE PEOPLE DEPEND ON THE MEDIA, VIEWS ARE FAR MORE NEGATIVE THAN WHERE PERSONAL OBSERVATION IS A GUIDE.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

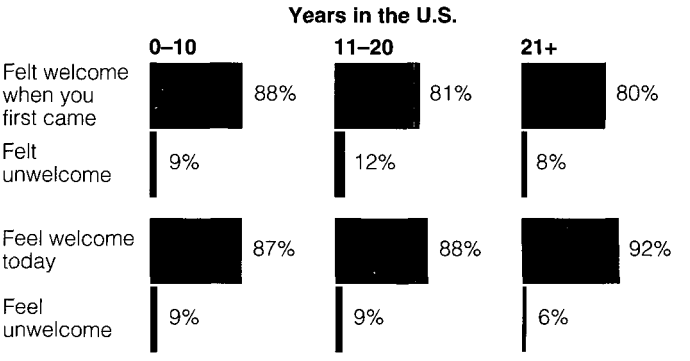
THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

On occasion, a survey comes our way that deserves special attention. Several years ago Gallup began building a sample that allowed the organization to conduct a full-scale 1995 survey of immigrants. The sample is large enough to look separately at immigrants by region of origin and how long they have been here—variables that affect attitudes. Nearly all immigrants in the survey said they felt welcome when they arrived and all say they feel welcome today. More would rather spend the rest of their lives here than return to their countries, though recent arrivals feel the pull of home. As a group, America's immigrants champion things associated with the American dream, though the racism finding is troubling.

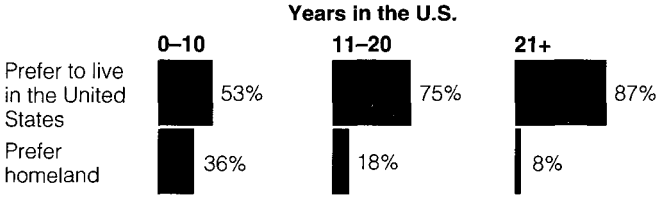
Question: **Which of the following would you say was the most important reason you came to the United States...?**



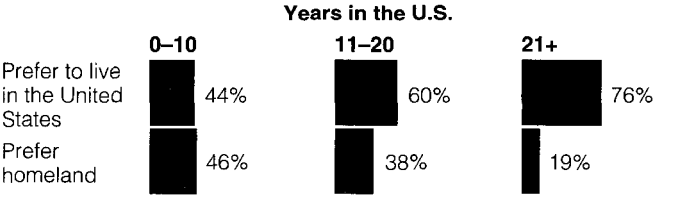
Question: **(Did you feel/Do you feel)...?**



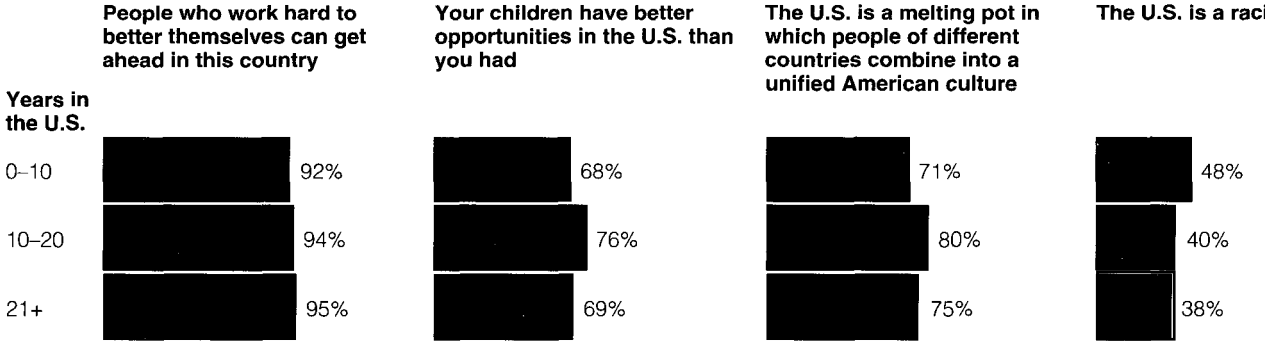
Question: **If you had to choose, where would you prefer to live for the rest of your life...?**



Question: **If it were possible to have the same standard of living in your homeland as you have in the United States, in which of the two countries would you prefer to live?**



Question: **Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements...?**



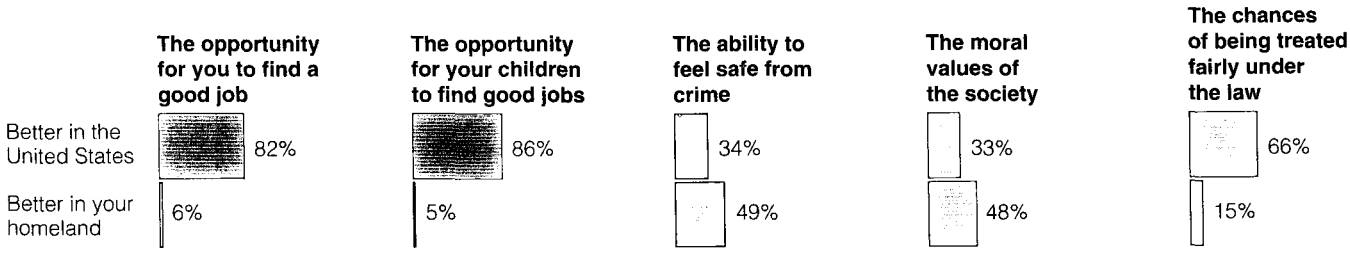
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN and *USA TODAY*, May 25–June 4, 1995.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

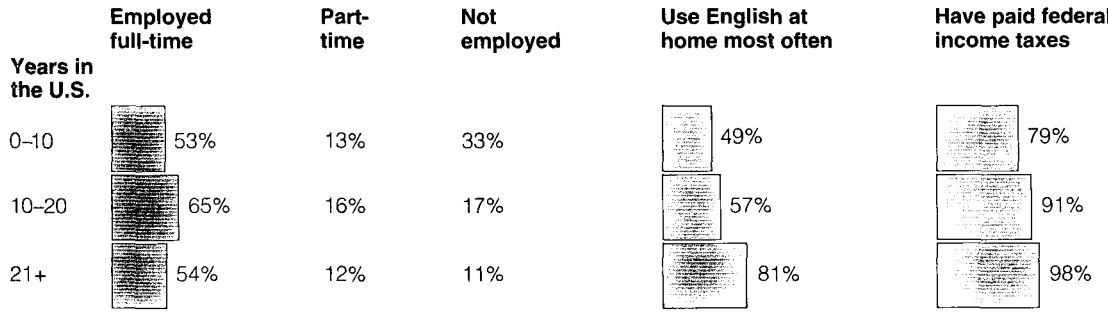
THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE, continued

Immigrants believe job opportunities are better here than in their homeland and they feel more confident of the justice system. Nearly half say their homeland is safer from crime and has stronger moral values. Majorities are employed. Significant minorities have been on welfare. The longer an immigrant has resided here, the more likely that English is spoken at home. Most want immigration kept at its present level, but 36 percent of those who have been here 21 years or more want to see it decreased. A majority of immigrants who have resided here two decades or more favor eliminating public assistance to all illegal immigrants and their children; those who have been here a shorter time oppose the idea.

Question: **For each of the following aspects of life, please compare the United States to your homeland. First do you think...?**



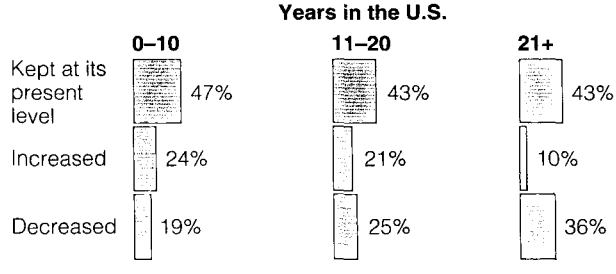
Question: **Are you now employed...? What language is used most often at home? Have you ever paid federal income taxes in the U.S.?**



Welfare
Regarding welfare, food stamps, Medicaid, AFDC, and similar aid from government agencies, 18% of those in the U.S. 0–10 years have been recipients, along with 22% of those here 11–20 years, and 17% of those here 21 years or longer.

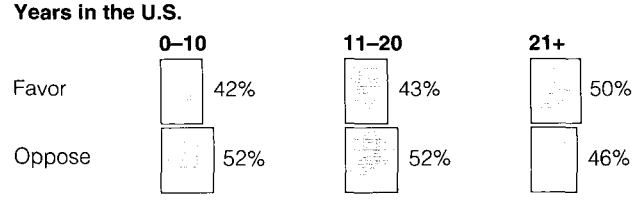
Moonlighting
Twenty-two percent of employed immigrants here 0–10 years hold two or more jobs, as do 12 percent of those who have been here longer.

Question: **In your view, should immigration be...?**



Twenty-four percent of Americans in general said in June 1995 that immigration should be kept at its present level, 7 percent wanted it increased, and 65 percent wanted to cut it (Gallup).

Question: **Now I'd like to ask you about illegal immigrants—citizens of other countries who are not legally allowed to live in the United States. Would you favor or oppose a proposal to eliminate all forms of public assistance, including education and health benefits, to all illegal immigrants and their children?**



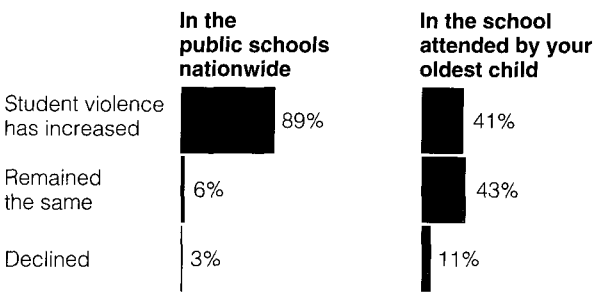
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN and *USA TODAY*, May 25-June 4, 1995.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS

We've all heard about the problem, but is it more serious for most school attendees than it was for earlier generations? A number of recent surveys find that substantial majorities believe that student violence has increased, though far fewer say it has in the schools attended by their children. Few teens and parents say that safety at, or going to and from, school is a concern for them. A battery of questions asked by Gallup since the 1980s shows that the number saying fighting is a problem has gone up, but that thefts, vandalism, and student disturbances haven't changed much over the past 15 years.

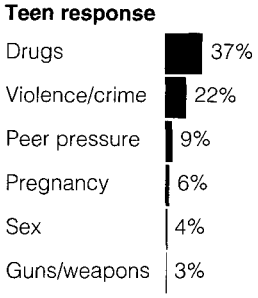
Question: **Is it your impression that student violence in the public schools nationwide had increased a great deal in recent years, increased some, declined some, declined a great deal or remained about the same? How about the public school attended by your oldest child...?**



Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for *Phi Delta Kappan,* May 25–June 15, 1995.

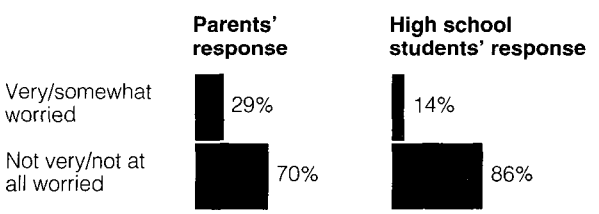
Question: **Think about the problems facing teenagers, what do you think is the most important problem facing teens today?**

Teen response

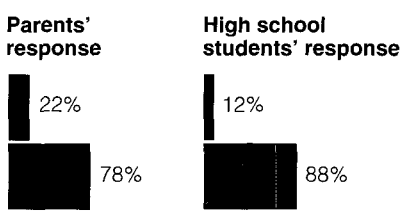


Note: Responses below 3% not shown.
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times,* May 26–June 1, 1994.

Question: **To what extent do you worry about (your child's/your) safety going to and from school?**



Question: **To what extent do you worry about (your child's/your) safety when in school?**

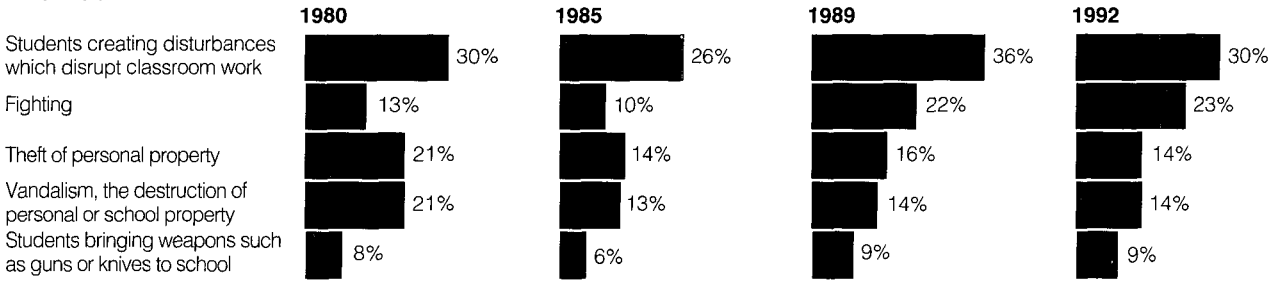


Note: Survey of high school students was a mail survey. High school students defined as grades 10–12.
Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, April–May 1994.

Question: **How big a problem would you say each of the following is in your school...?**

Responses of 13- to 17-year-olds*

Very big problem



Note: *Eighteen-year-olds were included in the survey in 1980.
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of 1992.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

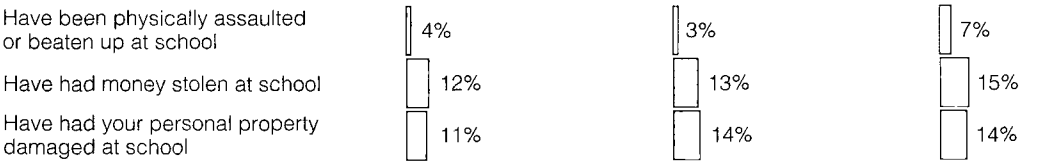
VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS, continued

In terms of personal experience, few teens say they have been a victim of violence at school. Fewer than 2 in 10 teens say they have actually been assaulted or threatened, though more say they have feared for their physical safety. About 15 percent say they have had money stolen or property damaged. A third of teens say they have been involved in angry confrontations or scenes at their schools two or more times, but far fewer have been threatened with a knife or gun. About a third say they know someone in their school or neighborhood who carries a knife, but only 15 percent know someone who carries a gun.

Question: **When you are at school, do you ever fear for your physical safety?**

13- to 17-year olds answering "yes"*

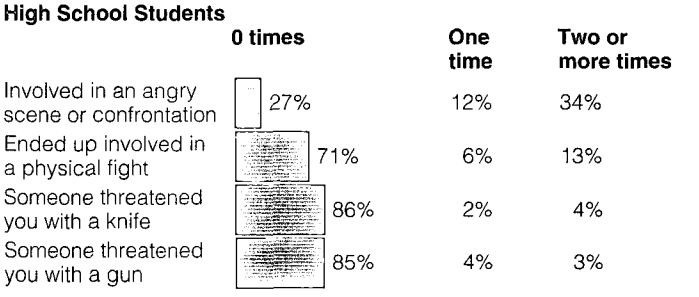
Question: **During the past 12 months, have any of the following happened to you at school?**



Note: *Eighteen-year-olds were included in the survey in 1977.
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization.

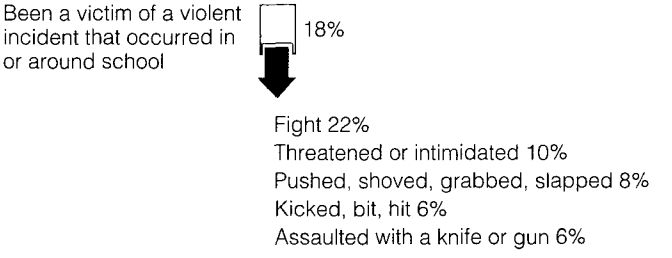
Question: **For each of the following items, record how many times they happened to you. In the last month, how many times were you...?**

High School Students



Question: **Have you ever...**

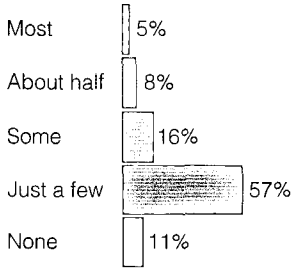
High School Students



Source: Survey by Louis Harris and Associates for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, April–May 1994.

Question: **Of the kids in your school, how many would you say frequently carry a knife, gun, or other weapon?**

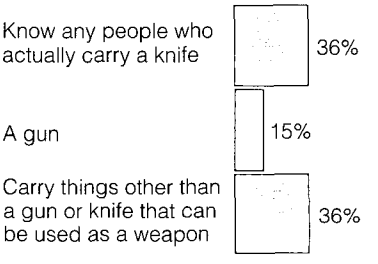
Teen response



Note: "None" response volunteered.
Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, May 26–June 1, 1994.

Question: **Do you know people who usually carry a...to school/in your neighborhood?**

Response of 12- to 17-year-olds



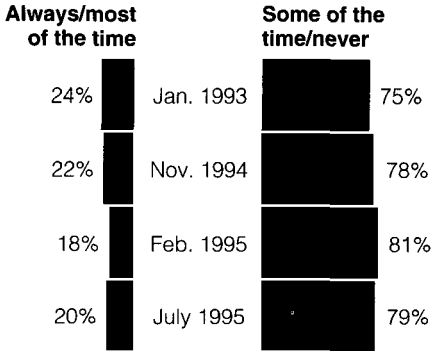
Note: Fourteen percent of those surveyed said they had carried a knife, and 3% said they had carried a gun.
Source: Survey by Roper Starch Worldwide for *The Rolanda Show* in association with the Harvard Injury Control Center, October 20–26, 1994.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

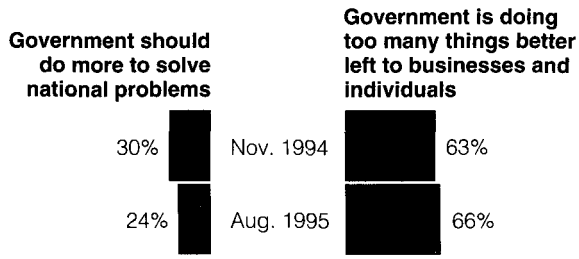
THE MOOD ON WASHINGTON

There is little evidence that anti-Washington sentiment has abated since the electoral sea change a year ago. Nearly 8 in 10 Americans say they trust the government only some of the time or never. Two-thirds believe that government is doing too many things better left to invididuals. Over 9 in 10 say the government wastes too much money, and 6 in 10 say government leaders are out of touch.

Question: **How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right...?**

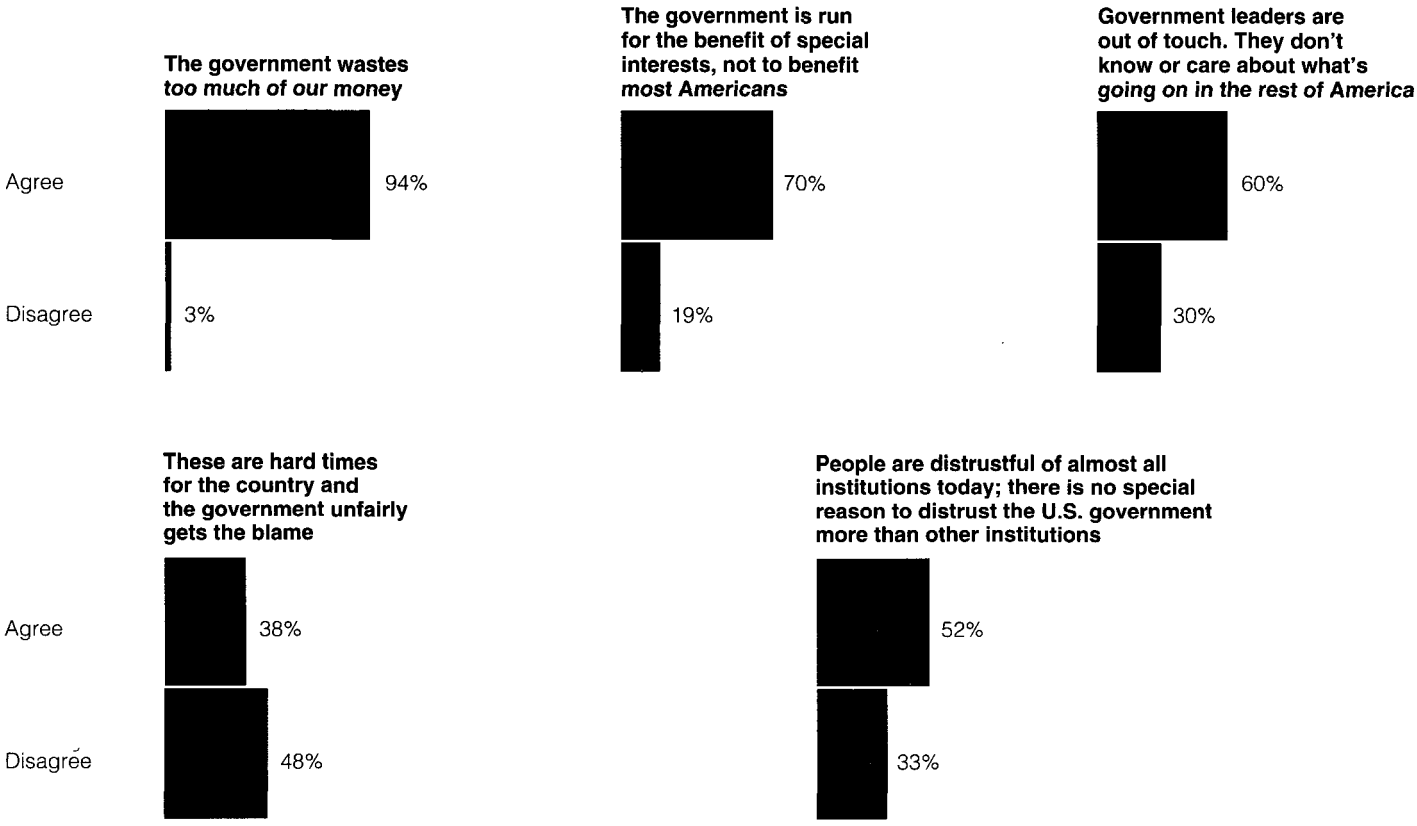


Question: **Which comes closer to your view?**



Source: Surveys by CBS News/*New York Times*, latest that of August 5–9, 1995.

Question: **Here are some reasons why people mistrust the government in Washington. For each one, please tell me if you agree or disagree.**



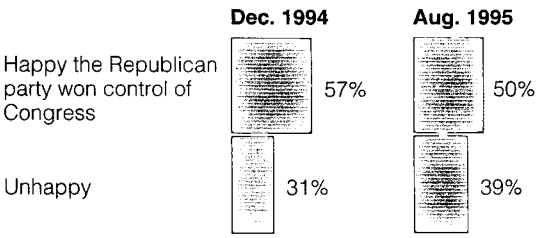
Source: Survey by Market Strategies, Inc. and Greenberg Research, Inc. for Americans Talk Issues, June 21–28, 1995.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPUBLICANS IN CONGRESS

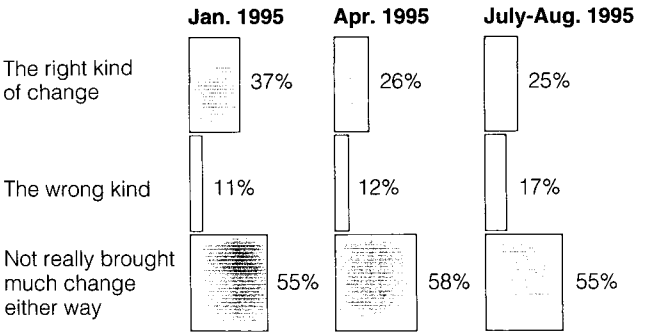
Given the depth of dissatisfaction about the federal government's performance, it is not suprising that Americans say they are happy about the changeover in Congress last November. Still, majorities say they haven't seen much change in Washington, but of those who believe they have seen changes, more say they are for the better than worse. Other polls show erosion in perceptions of the GOP, and negative impressions of Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich have risen since January. When asked how they would vote for Congress if the election were held today, however, more people said in August they would pull the lever for a Republican congressional candidate than felt that way last November.

Question: **In general are you happy or unhappy that the...?**



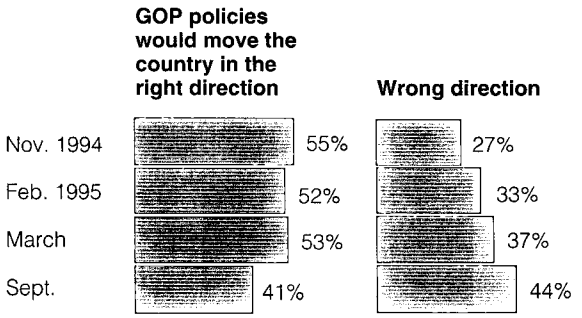
Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for the Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, August 17–20, 1995.

Question: **Do you think the Republican Congress has mostly brought...?**



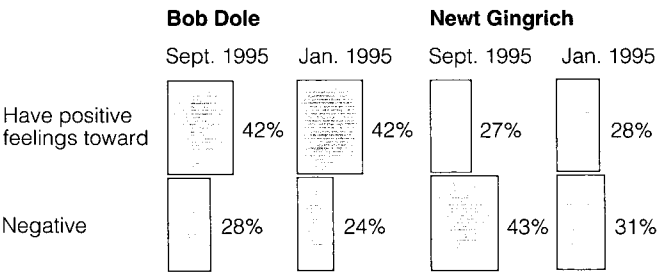
Source: Survey by Hart/Teeter Research for NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, July 29–August 1, 1995.

Question: **Do you think the policies being proposed by the Republican leaders in the U.S. House and Senate would move the country...?**



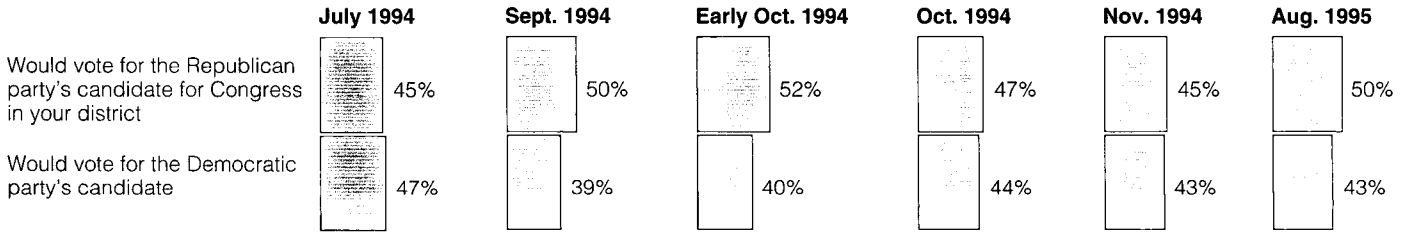
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for CNN and *USA TODAY*, latest that of September 22-24, 1995.

Question: **I'm going to read you the names of several public figures, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as...?**



Source: Survey by Hart/Teeter Research for NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, latest that of September 16-19, 1995.

Question: **Suppose the 1996 elections for U.S. Congress were being held today, would you vote...**



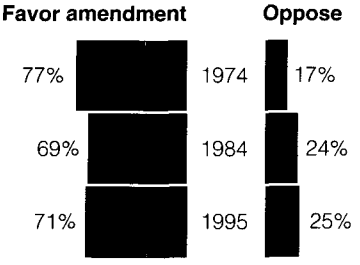
Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for the Times Mirror Center for The People & The Press, latest that of August 17–20, 1995.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRAYER IN SCHOOLS

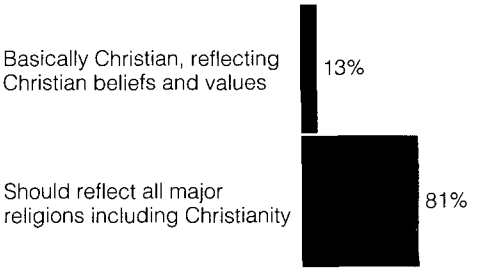
America is a deeply religious nation as many surveys illustrate. One manifestation of this commitment is the support for school prayer. This year, just as 20 years ago, over three-quarters of those surveyed by Gallup told the pollsters that they favored an amendment to permit spoken prayers in the schools. Nearly half of those who favor the idea favor it strongly. Americans prefer a silent to a spoken prayer, and they would prefer the prayers reflect all major religious denominations, not just Christian ones. By 55 to 44 percent, people believe prayer in school would improve the behavior of students.

Question: **An amendment to the U.S. Constitution has been proposed that would permit prayers to be spoken in the public schools. Do you...?**

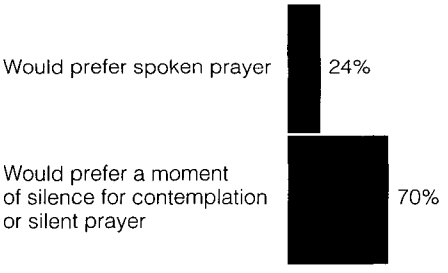


In 1995, of those who favored the amendment, 46% favored it strongly, 25% favored it but not strongly.

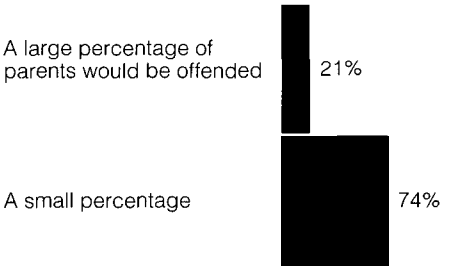
Question: **Suppose spoken prayer were allowed in the local public schools, do you believe that the prayers should be...?**



Question: **If you had a choice, would you prefer in the local public schools...?**



Question: **Thinking about the local situation, what percentage of parents of students in local public schools do you think would be offended if spoken prayer were permitted**



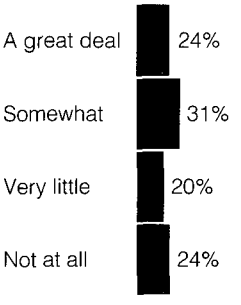
Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for *Phi Delta Kappan*, May 25–June 15, 1995.

Question: **Whether you go to church or not, would you...**

Question: **Which of the following do you believe in?**

Source: Survey by World Values Study, 1990–1993.

Question: **Do you think the introduction of spoken prayer in the local public schools would improve the behavior of students...**



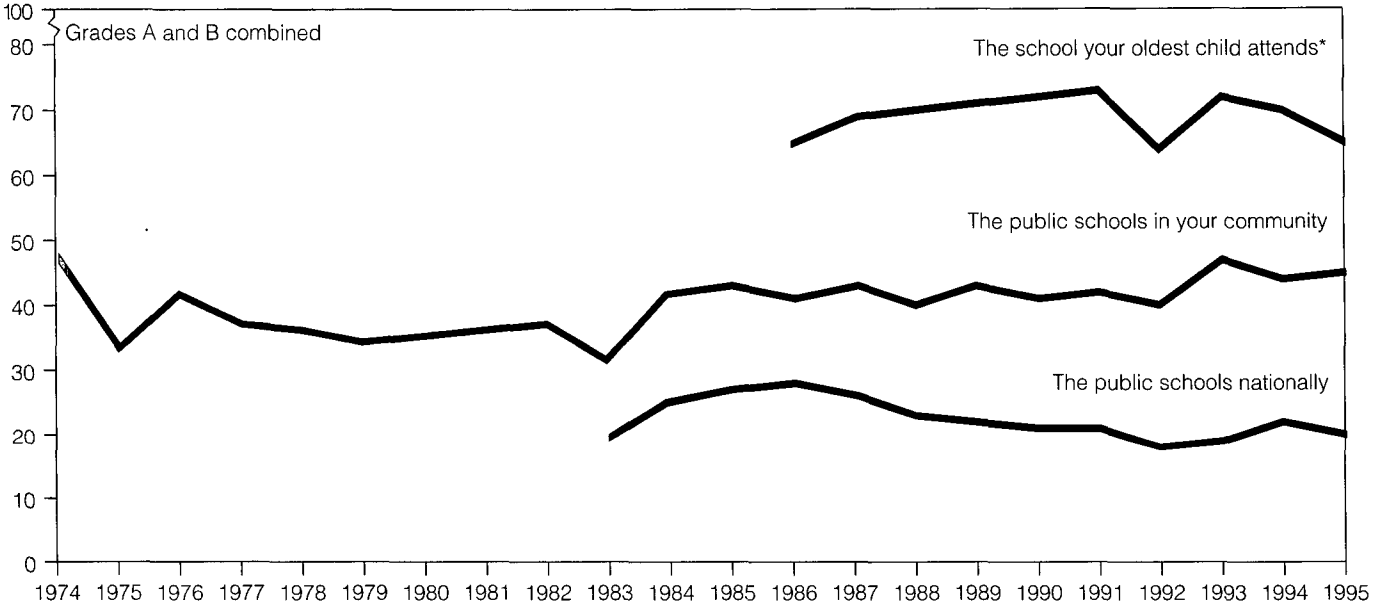
Source: Survey by the Gallup Organization for *Phi Delta Kappan*, May 25–June 15, 1995.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

GRADING PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION

For over 20 years, Gallup has been asking Americans to grade the schools in their community with an A, B, C, D, or FAIL. The percentage giving the local schools an A or B has risen since the late 1970s and early 1980s. In a more recent permutation of the question, parents are even more enthusiastic about the school their oldest child attends. The public schools nationally do not fare as well, and significantly fewer Americans give them high grades. For the first time this year, Gallup asked parents why they grade the school their oldest child attends more highly than the public schools nationally. Fewer problems with violence and higher academic standards top the list.

Question: **Students are often given the grades A,B,C,D, and Fail to denote the quality of their work. Suppose the public schools themselves, in this community, were graded in the same way. What grade would you give the public schools here...? What grade would you give the public schools nationally...? Using the A,B,C,D, Fail scale again, what grade would you give the school your oldest child attends?**

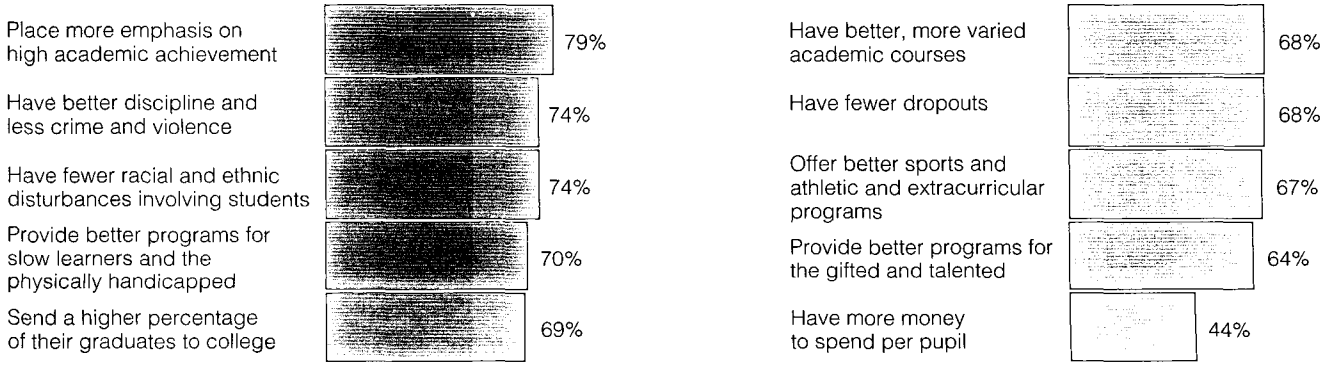


The number giving the public schools in their community a D or Fail has inched up since 1974 when 11% gave them those marks. In 1995, the percentage was 17%. The number giving the public schools nationally the same marks has fluctuated in the teens and low twenties. In 1995, 21% gave the public schoools nationally a D or Fail. In 1995, 11% gave the school their oldest child attends a D or a Fail. The number has usually been below 10%.

Note: *=Parents of children in public schools.

Question: **To indicate why you grade the public schools in your community higher than the public schools nationally, would you say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements...?**

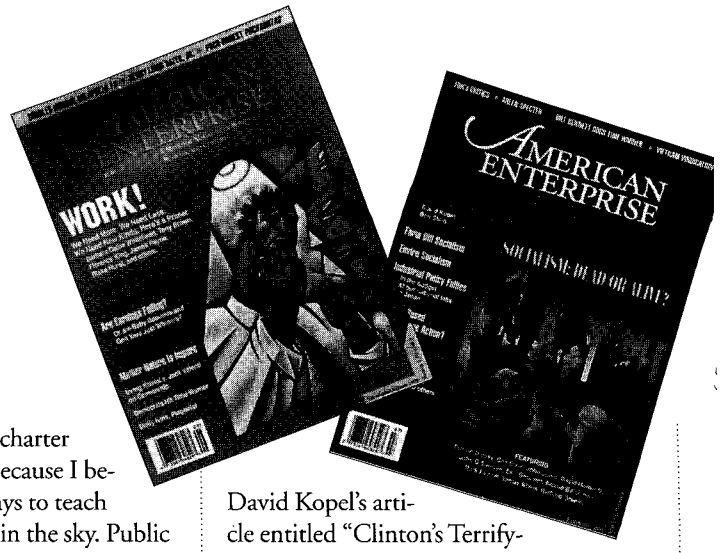
Reasons local schools are better



Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization for *Phi Delta Kappan*, latest that of May 25–June 15, 1995.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Mail



Each of the essays in your excellent Afrocentrism collection (Sept./Oct.) indirectly raises the delicate question of black Americans' "self-esteem." But the conceptual distinctions between the "good" and "bad" sides of Afrocentrism deserve to be highlighted more clearly.

Like Henry Gates ("On Honoring Blackness"), my wife and I help our children preserve their cultural heritage, to provide the psychological underpinning we fear is lacking in our assimilated brethren. Yet there is a world of difference between private efforts to preserve ethnic pride and the use of political coercion (and other people's money) to achieve this end. It's important to note, as illustrated in Dinesh D'Souza's "Pride and Prejudice," that state-sponsored falsification of history is now being offered to "solve" a self-esteem problem *itself created by state policy.*

I am grateful for Bill Kauffman's introduction of Jessie Fauset, and for David Beito's profile of folklorist Zora Neale Hurston. I am absolutely convinced that their insistence on private action and private property as keys to human advancement offer the only solution to the excruciating racial problems plaguing our magnificent country.

Michael I. Krauss
George Mason University

I was drawn to the remarks made about me in Dinesh D'Souza's article "Pride and Prejudice" (Sept./Oct.). The pilot program he refers to is in its third year under the leadership of Abena Walker. The school is one of our charter schools and a magnet for those who seek Afrocentric instruction. We set educational targets for student achievement, and require use of systemwide curricula in our charter schools. I support them because I believe there are as many ways to teach children as there are stars in the sky. Public school choice responds to different learning styles, interests, and talents.

Franklin L. Smith
District of Columbia Public Schools

As Dinesh D'Souza writes, the radical Afrocentric version of ancient history does not stand up to scrutiny. Strange as it may seem, the ancients themselves made some of the same false assertions about the debt of Greece to Egypt. Visitors to Egypt in the first century B.C. were told that many Greek celebrities had studied there. The problem is that these tales, which expressed Egyptian pride in their ancient civilization, were untrue. Information about Plato's Egyptian teachers was invented after his death, and should be understood as a historical fiction.

Mary Lefkowitz
Wellesley College

The articles of Professors Gates and Appiah define the issue at the core of the multicultural debate: Will multiculturalism bring us together or drive us apart? Gates appears not to have sorted out whether being black or being American is more important. In contrast, Appiah has cast his lot with the broader community. There is wisdom in his statement that separate loyalties "will be mobilized in politics unless a civic culture can be created that explicitly seeks to exclude them," and his call for real pluralism that "builds bridges of loyalty across the ethnicities that have so often divided us."

Lawrence E. Harrison
Harvard University

David Kopel's article entitled "Clinton's Terrifying Response to Terror" (July/Aug.) is a typical NRA ghost story, intended to scare readers by telling them federal law enforcers are out to attack law-abiding citizens. Nowhere in Kopel's discussion of Waco does he mention the federal agents who sacrificed their lives on the side of the law. Neither did Kopel mention that after all of the scrutiny on Waco, the original warrants were found to be valid. We admit mistakes were made in intelligence, planning, and crisis management, and we have taken steps to correct the errors.

Regarding militias, Kopel's article is full of inaccuracies. Kopel quotes figures from 1982 Senate hearings that 75 percent of our cases were against law-abiding citizens. Actually, in the three prior years, 74 percent of those recommended for prosecution on firearms charges had prior criminal records. His false numbers were based on NRA disinformation from a paid consultant for the NRA, who later repudiated the statements attributed to him.

John C. Killorin
Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms

David Kopel replies:
Mike Acree was hired by the NRA to study BATF law enforcement practices in Maryland and Virginia. The statements "attributed" to former Commissioner of Customs Mike Acree were his testimony to the Senate that approximately 75 percent of BATF prosecutions he studied in Maryland and Virginia were aimed at unknowing technical violations, rather than at genuine criminals. The "repudiation" consisted of a statement to a newspaper reporter that the Maryland/Vir-

The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send to "The Mail," The American Enterprise, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax to (202) 862-7178. Or e-mail 75272.1226@compuserve.com. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ginia data were not necessarily applicable to the country as whole.

The lives of both BATF agents and law-abiding citizens will continue to be at risk until the culture of militarized, gratuitously violent federal law enforcement is fundamentally reformed. The changes at BATF have been far less profound than management claims.

Why do Jack Valenti and other members of the pop culture elite hide behind the First Amendment when someone criticizes the garbage they support (TWO VIEWS, Sept./Oct.)? Every civilized society has basic standards, laws, and, dare I say, morals. Americans would embrace those in the entertainment industry who would admit fault for some of the junk produced and put self-imposed limits on what they're willing to be associated with.

Christine Boreland
Barrington, Illinois

In your response to your TWO VIEWS debate (Sept./Oct.), certainly if what we read, see, and hear affects our thinking, and thinking influences behavior, then TV programs saturated with sex, violence, and anti-religious hostility can influence conduct. Even those who contend that TV sex and violence are harmless must at least tacitly acknowledge the power and influence of words and ideas; otherwise, they would never attend school, go to the library, or write letters, articles, books, advertising copy, and TV and movie scripts.

Haven Bradford Gow
Eudora, Arkansas

Thanks to Charles Murray for his review of the movie *Apollo 13* (Sept./Oct.). The film succeeds brilliantly as a portrayal of the values, quiet courage, and determination of the crew, their families, and the people of mission control. Director Ron Howard succeeded in doing something few filmmakers are able to pull off—make a summer blockbuster that entertains an audience for two hours without one shot being fired.

Harold Queener
Burlingame, California

Bruce Bartlett's article "The National Sales Tax Fantasy" (July/Aug.) repeats many red herrings lodged against the sales tax.

He argues that the sales tax rate would have to be 32 percent to replace current revenues. This is wrong. A sales tax rate that replaces the personal income tax, the corporate income tax, the capital gains tax, and the estate tax, while leaving the Social Security tax as it is, would have to be between 15 and 17 percent. The tax base for the sales tax and the Armey flat tax are nearly identical, so if one plan can replace today's system with a 17 percent rate, so can the other.

Bartlett warns that a national sales tax would hurt the states. But states would be reimbursed for collecting the tax. The fact that a national sales tax would make collection of state income taxes difficult I view as a virtue. Since they would have to erect a special infrastructure to continue collecting income taxes, most states would just piggyback off the federal sales tax instead.

Bartlett says all business would have to be extensively audited. Yes, but under a sales tax, the federal government would be reducing its points of collection by about 90 percent. Somewhere in the neighborhood of 100 million tax filers on the individual side would be liberated from the IRS completely.

Finally, Bartlett argues that a sales tax would be "massively regressive." It is easy to make a national sales tax nonregressive by having the federal government send every person around $800 a year to reimburse them for the tax they paid on their first $5,000 of annual purchases.

Stephen Moore
Cato Institute

Bruce Bartlett replies:
Steve Moore is correct that it is possible to replace current federal tax revenues with a 17 percent sales tax if you do not replace the payroll tax (and federal excise taxes), but only if 100 percent of consumption is taxed. However, Moore would not tax all consumption because he would exempt the first $5,000 of annual purchases, which would reduce the tax base by $1.3 trillion (258 million times $5,000). This means that the tax rate would have to be 26 percent to collect current revenues even without payroll and excise taxes—not 17 percent.

In your Sept./Oct. issue, Dinesh D'Souza writes in "Work and the African American" that "many attempts have been made to explain the scarcity of blacks in small business." Alas, the answer is incredibly simple. It is only in the last decade or so that African Americans have been able to get their hands on capital. There is nothing wrong with African Americans as small businessmen that cannot be cured by eliminating the capital gains tax. Once this occurs there will be a flow of capital from those who have it to those who do not, and great advances will occur in black enterprise.

Jude Wanniski
Morristown, New Jersey

My compliments on your engaging series of essays focusing on work (Sept./Oct.). I especially enjoyed Barbara Dafoe Whitehead's perceptive article and Nancy Pearcey's fine thoughts, which might be taken a step further by including Christ's words: "For where your treasure is, there your heart will be also." There are legions of stay-at-home parents who pass up the dual-career lifestyle, get by on one spouse's income, and are available full-time for their children. People soul-searching over the issues raised by your essayists may benefit from getting to know some of these parents.

Thomas J. Wiswell
Via Compuserve

Everybody is seeking ways to increase prison space, yet we fail to look at one obvious answer ("Crime Solutions," May/June). There are thousands of inmates over age 50 just taking up needed bed space. In Michigan there are more than 2,000 inmates who have served over 20 years. Their beds could be opened up for the violent young offenders coming to prison today. If we want prison space, here it is. Don't tax me to death to build more prisons.

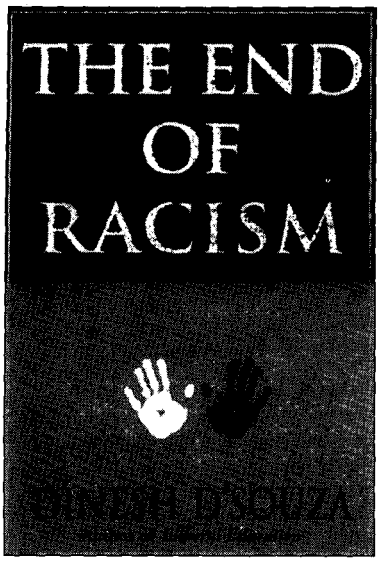
R. C. Powell
Freeland, Michigan

The article on feminists and dysfunctional families was ludicrous ("Hard Cases," May/June). Although it is true that the women discussed by Dalton had difficult, unusual childhoods, to presume that those backgrounds caused their feminist views and that those views are therefore invalid is intellectually insulting.

M. Moore
Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEW FROM THE FREE PRESS



1995 ISBN: 0-02-908102-5 $30.00

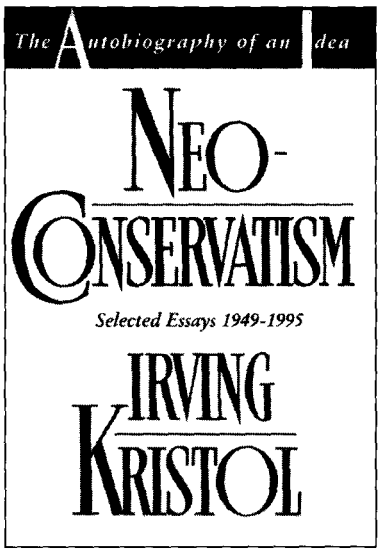
"Read the book. D'Souza has lifted the debate on race to firmer ground."
—*Forbes*

"Runs the risk of being this year's Most Dangerous Book. Announces an important paradigm shift away from an intellectually dishonest orthodoxy on cultural differences that has long silenced those whose ideas and experiences contradict it."
—*The Wall Street Journal*

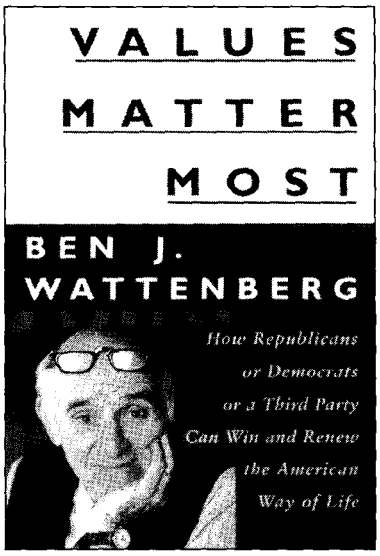
"Challenges us to come to grips with a set of problems that no one, least of all blacks, can afford to ignore. Distressing as it is, his message may ultimately be a life-saving one."
—*Newsday*

"Kristol's writing has exhibited a wealth of common sense and understated wit. This book is full of both."
—*The New York Times Book Review*

"Irving Kristol is one of America's most impressive—and most important—social critics and intellectuals. To the unconvinced, I would simply say: read this superb collection. It will provide you with all the evidence you need."
—**William J. Bennett,** author of *The Book of Virtues*



1995 ISBN: 0-02-874021-1 $25.00



1995 ISBN: 0-02-933795-X $25.00

"This brilliant book has essential insights and analyses for the next President."
—**Malcolm S. Forbes, Jr.,** Editor-in-Chief, *Forbes*

"With his trademark wit, Ben Wattenberg brings new life to the values debate. This important book is a healthy reminder to both parties that politics is about values."
—**Senator Bob Dole,** Majority Leader, U.S. Senate

For credit card orders call 1-800-323-7445.
Or send a check to:

THE FREE PRESS
An Imprint of Simon & Schuster
1230 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The best seats in the house aren't only in the house.

TEXACO-METROPOLITAN OPERA INTERNATIONAL RADIO NETWORK 1995-1996 BROADCAST SCHEDULE

1995 RADIO BROADCASTS

Met Season Preview
December 2

Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny [Weill]
December 9

Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg [Wagner]
December 16

Die Zauberflöte [Mozart]
December 23

***The Queen of Spades** [Tchaikovsky]
December 30

1996 RADIO BROADCASTS

La Bohème [Puccini]
January 6

Don Giovanni [Mozart]
January 13

***The Makropulos Case** [Janáček]
January 20

Il Barbiere di Siviglia [Rossini]
January 27

Falstaff [Verdi]
February 3

Otello [Verdi]
February 10

Turandot [Puccini]
February 17

***Così fan tutte** [Mozart]
February 24

Aida [Verdi]
March 2

Madama Butterfly [Puccini]
March 9

***La Forza del Destino** [Verdi]
March 16

Carmen [Bizet]
March 23

Salome [R. Strauss]
March 30

The Voyage [Glass]
April 6

***Andrea Chénier** [Giordano]
April 13

Die Walküre [Wagner]
April 20

1995-96 PBS TELECASTS

Arabella [R. Strauss]
November 1

Madama Butterfly [Puccini]
December 27

Otello [Verdi]
January 31

James Levine 25th Anniversary Gala [Live]
April 27

Check local listings for station. Please send your Opera Quiz questions to: Texaco Opera Quiz, F.D.R. Station, P.O. Box 805, New York, NY 10150.

*New Production

For a free, illustrated Broadcast Guide, write to: Metropolitan Opera Association, P.O. Box 200, Lincoln Center, New York, NY 10023.

TEXACO

TAKE IT TO THE STAR™

©1995 Texaco Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

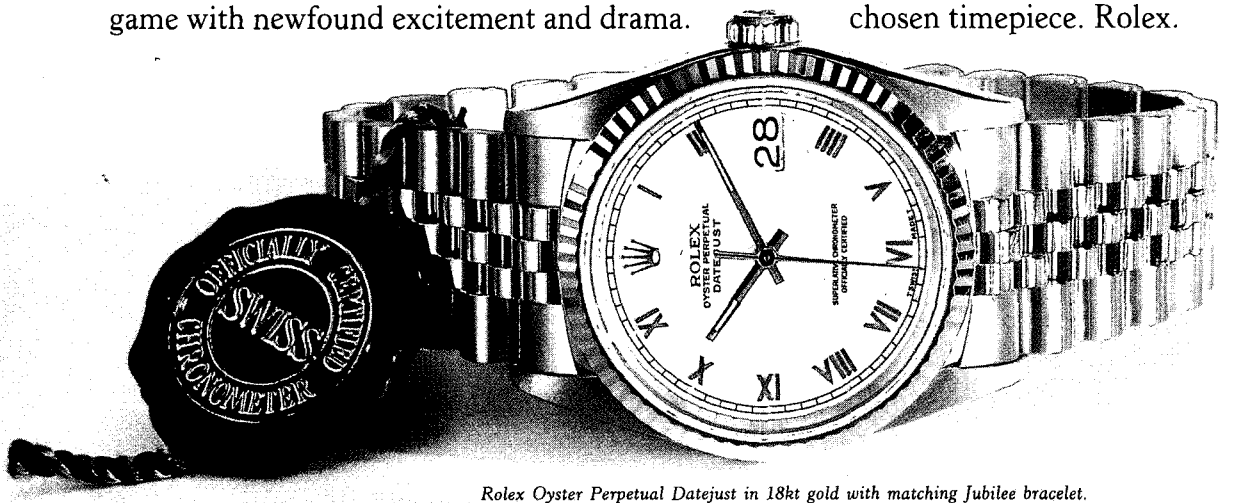
Palmer and Nicklaus. A legendary pairing.

For more than three decades Arnold Palmer and Jack Nicklaus have been joined in one of the most intriguing rivalries in sport, a competition made all the more riveting by their contrasting styles and personalities.

With his bold slashing play and telegenic charm, Palmer was the game's first crucial media star; while Nicklaus wielded his remarkable talent and concentration to rewrite the record books. And between them they infused the game with newfound excitement and drama.

"Looking back on all our years of competition," says Nicklaus, "I see it has worked exactly the way it should. It has brought out the best in both of us." And Palmer agrees, adding, "Not only that, it's also been fun."

Over the years, the pair have also competed as businessmen and golf course designers. But through all their battles, athletic and otherwise, they have shared an unwavering love for the game of golf and an abiding appreciation for their chosen timepiece. Rolex.



ROLEX

Rolex Oyster Perpetual Datejust in 18kt gold with matching Jubilee bracelet.
Write for brochure. Rolex Watch U.S.A., Inc., Dept. 877, Rolex Building, 665 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022-5383.
Rolex, ♛, Oyster Perpetual, Datejust and Jubilee are trademarks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED